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CAMBRIDGE TEXTS IN THE HISTORY OF POLITICAL THOUGHT

四次运动的理论

The Theory of the Four Movements

Fourier

傅立叶

Edited by

GARETH STEDMAN JONES

and

IAN PATTERSON

中国政法大学出版社

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Series editors

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Fourier: The Theory of the Four Movements

This remarkable book, written soon after the French revolution, has traditionally been considered one of the founding documents in the history of socialism. It introduces the best-known and most extraordinary utopia written in the last two centuries. Charles Fourier was among the first to formulate a right to a minimum standard of life. His radical approach involved a systematic critique of work, marriage and patriarchy, together with a parallel right to a 'sexual minimum'. He also proposed a comprehensive alternative to the Christian religion. Finally, through the medium of a bizarre and extraordinary cosmology, Fourier argued that the poor state of the planet is the result of the evil practices of civilisation. Translated into English for the first time since 1857, this classic text will be of particular interest to students and scholars of the history of sexuality and feminism, political thought and socialism.

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CHARLES FOURIER

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CAMBRIDGE TEXTS IN THE
HISTORY OF POLITICAL THOUGHT



CHARLES FOURIER
The Theory of the Four Movements

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剑桥政治思想史原著系列

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在政治理论领域，“剑桥政治思想史原著系列”作为主要的学生教科丛书，如今已牢固确立了其地位。本丛书旨在使学生能够获得从古希腊到20世纪初期西方政治思想史方面所有最为重要的原著。它囊括了所有著名的经典原著，但与此同时，它又扩展了传统的评价尺度，以便能够纳入范围广泛、不那么出名的作品。而在此之前，这些作品中有许多从未有过现代英文版本可资利用。只要可能，所选原著都会以完整而不删节的形式出版，其中的译作则是专门为本丛书的目的而安排。每一本书都有一个评论性的导言，加上历史年表、生平梗概、进一步阅读指南，以及必要的词汇表和原文注解。本丛书的最终目的是，为西方政治思想的整个发展脉络提供一个清晰的轮廓。

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Introduction

The Theory of the Four Movements appeared in the war-torn France of 1808.¹ By any standards, it was an outlandish, disorganised and disconcerting mixture of ingredients. A well-observed critique of marriage, of the iniquities of free competition leading to 'industrial feudalism', of the tedium of work in civilisation and of the errors of the French Revolution was set side by side with assertions about the copulation between planets, oracular pronouncements about the life-span of the earth, extravagant promises about a new religion of 'voluptuousness' and a cryptic prospectus of the amorous and gastronomic delights which would accompany it. No author's name appeared on the title page and the place of publication, Lyons, was misleadingly stated to be Leipzig. Finally, whatever the other merits of the book, the exposition of *The Theory of the Four Movements* itself was bewilderingly brief: barely four pages, much of it in a footnote, scarcely more than the space-filling digression on the sad decline of provincial theatre.

Some of these obscurities can be attributed to worries about censorship during the First Empire.² So can some of the circumlo-

¹ *The Theory of the Four Movements* (henceforth *TTFM*). The first edition was republished in 1967: C. Fourier, *Théorie des Quatre Mouvements et des Destinées Générales*, Paris (J. J. Pauvert), 1967. The standard modern edition of Fourier is *Oeuvres complètes de Charles Fourier*, 12 vols., Paris (Anthropos), 1966–8 (henceforth *OC*) 'Théorie de l'unité universelle' occupies vols II–V. On the different editions of *TTFM* see translator's introduction.

² J. Beecher, *Charles Fourier. The Visionary and his World*, Berkeley, CA, 1986, p. 126. Beecher's book is the best and most comprehensive modern study of Fourier and his ideas. For the historical and biographical background to the publication of *The Theory of the Four Movements*, see chapter 6, pp. 116–40.

cutions. For instance, the war between France and England was prudently renamed 'the battle against insular monopoly'. The author had already discovered that Bonapartist officials were particularly allergic to military pessimism. But, generally, the bizarre form of the book faithfully reflected authorial intention. The author, the enigmatically named 'Mr Charles at Lyons', was in fact the genuinely obscure Charles Fourier, a small silk broker and commercial traveller around the fairs of Europe. He did not intend the book to clarify, but to tantalise. His book should provide no more than 'a glimpse' of the truth. It was only to be a prospectus. The theory itself would be revealed in a six-volume treatise, once supported by one thousand subscribers.

But when the book was published, ridicule was the only attention Fourier received. Reviewers did not notice 'the pearl in the mud':³ those intimations of a great scientific discovery discreetly deposited by Fourier amid the queerly assorted passages which made up the book. Their attention was riveted by the promise that the Earth would recover its 'northern crown' and that the sea would taste of lemonade. The mockery hurt. France was therefore 'punished' by the author's silence. The first instalment of the promised treatise did not appear until 1822.⁴

Despite its weirdness and its inauspicious reception, *The Theory of the Four Movements* did represent an important moment in the history of political and social theory. Not only did it announce the most extraordinary utopia of the nineteenth century, it was also perhaps the first to define 'the social problem' as the nineteenth century came to conceive it. The evils of 'free competition'; the poverty that accompanied civilisation; the uselessness of the rights of man without a right to work or the right to a minimum standard of living; the resort to adultery or prostitution as the product of women's subordination; the hypocrisy and 'cuckoldry' which belied civilised marriage; the misery, waste and overproduction which resulted from the lack of association between capital, labour and

³ Beecher, *Charles Fourier*, p. 121; this term derives from an 1816 manuscript 'Le Sphinx sans Oedipe', published in *La Phalange*, Paris, 1849, pp. 193-206.

⁴ C. Fourier, *Traité de l'association domestique-agricole ou attraction industrielle*, 2 vols., Paris and London, 1822, reprinted under the title 'Théorie de l'unité universelle' in *Oeuvres complètes de Charles Fourier*, 6 vols., Paris (La Librairie Sociétaire) 1841-5, vols. II-III.

talent; the tedium and monotony of 'civilised' work: these were issues repeatedly raised in subsequent nineteenth-century discussions of the 'social question' or 'the social evil'.

Equally novel was Fourier's definition of the 'social'. This was now a sphere which at once undercut and transcended the traditional domains of law, morality and politics. Furthermore this depiction of the 'social problem' went together with the rejection of all pre-existing moral and political theory and its supposed result, the French Revolution. Henceforth change was no longer to be expected from the political and ethical realm, but from 'the industrial and domestic'. Politics itself became no more than a symptom of the 'declining' phase of an 'incoherent' social order, a pathological product of the mistaken premises upon which civilisation was based. Similarly, the unit of change was no longer the polity, the social change of the future was to be cosmic.

For these reasons, *The Theory of the Four Movements* was acknowledged not simply as a pioneering exploration of the social, but also as a founding document of socialist thought. In Harmony which was within reach of humanity, there would be no need for the conventional sanctions of political and religious authority. Here then was one primitive source of all those nineteenth and twentieth-century visions of the 'withering away of the state' taken as a consequence of the solution to the 'social problem'.

Representing Fourier

After 1830, Fourier became widely known. In the first surveys of socialist or utopian doctrine, he was depicted as one of the founding fathers of the socialist school.⁵ After the split among the Saint-Simonians, a Fourierist movement was formed. Under its leader, Victor Considérant, it became one of the foremost socialist groupings in the years before 1848.⁶ By the 1840s, at the height of its

⁵ M. L. Reybaud, *Etude sur les réformateurs contemporains, ou socialistes modernes. Saint Simon, Charles Fourier, Robert Owen*, Paris, 1840; A. Blanqui, *Histoire de l'économie politique en Europe*, Paris, 1837; L. von Stein, *Der Sozialismus und Communismus des heutigen Frankreichs*, Leipzig, 1842.

⁶ On the Fourierist movement in France see H. Desroche, *La Société festive. Du Fourierisme écrit aux Fourierismes pratiqués*, Paris, 1975; H. Louvancour, *De Henri de Saint Simon à Charles Fourier. Etude sur le socialisme romantique français de 1830*, Chartres, 1913; Alexandrian, *Le Socialisme romantique*, Paris, 1979; M.

appeal, small Fourierist groupings were to be found across Europe and North America and attempts to found Fourierist communities – ‘phalansteries’ – ranged from Massachusetts to Romania.⁷

Fourier also won a prominent place in the Marxian genealogy of socialism. In Germany in 1845, the young Engels translated excerpts on trade from *The Theory of the Four Movements* while excusing Fourier’s ‘cosmological fantasies’ as the product of ‘a brilliant world outlook’.⁸ Marx’s assessment in the *Communist Manifesto* was more guarded: ‘critical-utopian socialism’, of which Fourier together with Owen and Saint-Simon were representative, was treated as the product of ‘the early undeveloped period . . . of the struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie’. It was commended for its attack on ‘every principle of existing society’, but faulted for its failure to understand the active and revolutionary part to be played by the proletariat in its own emancipation.⁹ This judgement was repeated, but in much warmer terms, thirty years later in Engels’ pamphlet, *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*. So, however incongruous, Fourier’s name was assigned a place of honour on the Kremlin wall when the Bolsheviks triumphed in Russia in 1917.

There is no doubt about the substantial historical connection between Fourier and the nineteenth-century socialist movement. But if Fourier’s writings had so strongly helped to shape the subsequent socialist tradition, already by the 1830s the connection was becoming obscure. The idea of a science of the ‘social’ as the discovery which would unleash a global movement towards harmony remained embedded in the common stock of subsequent socialist assumptions. But in Fourier’s presentation, this idea seemed part of a scandalous and apparently ridiculous cornucopia of sexual and cosmological speculation. It became difficult to imagine what, if anything, had bound together a critique of free competition or of the tedium of civilised work with the announcement of a new amorous world or a novel version of reincarnation. To later socialists,

Dommanget, *Victor Considérant. Sa vie, son oeuvre*, Paris, 1929; D. W. Lovell, ‘Early French socialism and politics: the case of Victor Considérant’, *History of Political Thought*, 13/2 (1992), pp. 258–79.

⁷ See Desroche, *La Société festive*, pp. 200–2.

⁸ *Marx-Engels Collected Works* (hence *MECW*), Moscow, 1975–, vol. IV, p. 615.

⁹ *MECW*, vol. VI, pp. 514–15.

the details and extravagances of Fourier's system appeared embarrassing and inexplicable. They seemed to have little to do with socialism, as it came to be understood, particularly after 1850. Hence, the growing difficulty of assimilating Fourier's writings into a system of thought, of which he was also supposed to be a founding father.

In the later nineteenth century, it was Engels who hit upon the simplest formula for domesticating Fourier into an acceptable socialist history. His picture was that of the satirist, of the remorseless critic of 'the material and moral misery of the bourgeois world', and one whose 'imperturbably serene nature' made him 'assuredly one of the greatest satirists of all time'.¹⁰ In this account, due homage could be paid to Fourier's genius, while the contents of his theory could be safely ignored.

The Fourierist School of the 1830s and 1840s had been faced with a different problem. Unlike later socialists who could only acknowledge Fourier at the expense of his theory, Fourier's immediate disciples regarded him as the founding theorist of socialism, the 'Newton of the human soul'; but only at the cost of discarding his satire and, more flagrantly, the whole sexual dimension of the theory itself.¹¹ If the Fourier of Engels was the unsurpassed satirist of bourgeois society, the Fourier of the Fourierists was the great and solemn humanitarian, the philanthropist who had solved the problem of human misery, the genial, yet practical social reformer who had charted the passage to harmony. In the semi-official biography of Charles Pellarin in 1839, Fourier was turned into a saintly figure, a chaste teetotaler with lovable eccentricities, a lover of flowers and cats.¹²

In fact, Fourier was neither a humanitarian nor a satirist, nor even, as the later twentieth century has liked to portray him, the precursor of surrealist or modernist poetics. If, as Barthes for

¹⁰ *MECW*, vol. xxiv, p. 292.

¹¹ Fourier's sexual speculations were omitted from the first collected edition of his works, *Oeuvres complètes de Charles Fourier*, Paris, 1841-5. They were first published in the 1960s. See Simone Debout-Oleskiewicz (ed.), 'Le Nouveau monde amoureux', *OC*, vol. vii, Paris, 1967.

¹² Charles Pellarin, *Charles Fourier. Sa vie et sa théorie*, Paris, 1843. For an exposition of Fourierism as seen by the Fourierist school see V. Considérant, *Destinée sociale*, 3 vols., Paris, 1834-44.

instance suggests, Fourier's text can be read as that of a 'logothete', it is not because his project was ludic or parodic.¹³ His solemn claim upon the world was not that of the writer, of the playful maestro of the signifier, but of the inventor, the 'Columbus' of the social, the projector of true cosmic order, determined to ensure his patent. By taking more seriously Fourier's claim to have made a 'discovery' and by clearing away, so far as is possible, later assumptions of meaning superimposed upon Fourier's work, it is possible to identify more precisely the source of Fourier's critique of 'civilisation'.

Fourier's formation

Charles Fourier was born in Besançon in 1772. In *The Theory of the Four Movements*, Fourier boasted that it had fallen to the lot of 'a near-illiterate' to confound 'all the voluminous writings of the politicians and the moralists'. This claim was exaggerated. Fourier was provincial, but came of bourgeois stock. His father, who died when Fourier was nine, was untutored, but had made a considerable fortune as a cloth merchant. His mother was pious and narrow-minded. Fourier was brought up as heir to the business, the only boy among three sisters. He was educated at the Collège de Besançon, where he received a firm if narrow grounding in Latin and theology and in 1789 was sent to Lyons to become apprenticed as a merchant.

Three points about Fourier's early upbringing may have been important in shaping his later views. Firstly, if he were by no means 'a near-illiterate', it is true that his background was narrow-minded and oppressive. Besançon was scarcely touched by the Enlightenment; it was a garrison town near the frontier and the seat of an archbishopric. The Church was the main employer of its population of 35,000 and the piety of Counter-Reformation catholicism set the cultural tone of the region.¹⁴ There seems little doubt that Fourier's childhood experience of this religious milieu engendered a profound hostility towards the Catholic religion. In *The Theory of the Four Movements*, Fourier condemned the French Revolution not for its

¹³ See R. Barthes, *Sade, Fourier, Loyola*, London, 1976, pp. 76–123.

¹⁴ For details on eighteenth-century Besançon see C. Fohlen (ed.), *Histoire de Besançon*, vol. II, Paris, 1965, pp. 135–232; see also Beecher, *Charles Fourier*, chapter 1.

attack on the Church, but for the imaginative poverty of its religious and philosophical alternatives. Catholicism remained a central target of Fourier's attack upon civilisation. Not only can his cosmology be seen as an attempt to invert Catholic doctrine, but many of the daily practices of Harmony are also best deciphered as systematic inversions of the liturgy and calendar of the Church.¹⁵

Secondly, the mercantile life for which Fourier was trained was from the beginning fraught with tension and animosity. It is improbable that the child Fourier swore a 'Hannibalic oath' against commerce after being punished for refusing to deceive a customer, as Fourierist legend would have it. But it is known that Fourier attempted to run away from his merchant apprenticeship in Lyons in 1789. A more likely origin of Fourier's deep antagonism towards trade was the real and substantial fraud practised by his uncle in the management of the paternal estate after the death of Fourier's father in 1781. By the time Fourier received his portion in 1793, only 84,000 of 204,000 livres remained.¹⁶

Lastly, and more speculatively, it may be suggested that the early loss of his father, his uncle's unscrupulous behaviour and an upbringing in an overwhelmingly female household must have helped to shape the strongly feminine cast of his utopia. Whether Fourier can be considered a feminist has been a matter of dispute.¹⁷ What is not disputed is that no theorist before him had conceived a more resolutely anti-patriarchal vision of social and sexual order. Fourier went much further than Montesquieu in arguing that the extension of the privileges of women provided the basis of all social progress. His was a systematic attempt to breach the law of the father at every conceivable point. In Harmony, women were ensured full sexual freedom at the age of eighteen. No longer constrained by monogamy, they were free to form simultaneous erotic or companionate relationships with several men. Women would control reproduction, just as children would be free to choose

¹⁵ See J. Beecher, 'Parody and liberation in the amorous world of Charles Fourier', *History Workshop Journal*, 20 (1985), pp. 125-34.

¹⁶ Beecher, *Charles Fourier*, p. 28.

¹⁷ See Simone Debout, 'L'illusion réelle', *Topique*, 4-5 (1970), pp. 11-78. Catherine Francblin, 'Le Féminisme utopique de Charles Fourier', *Tel Quel* 62 (1975), pp. 44-69. For a summary of this debate in English see M. C. Spencer, *Charles Fourier*, Boston, 1981, pp. 91-5. See also C. G. Moses, *French Feminism in the Nineteenth Century*, New York, 1984.

between real and adoptive fathers. The relation between the child and the mother would no longer be disrupted by the father, nor would it be inhibited by the legal and religious authority which protected the father's power. Harmony was built upon the explicit elimination of such authority.¹⁸ Clearly, Fourier's own childhood, or rather the day-dreams conjured out of it, supplied much of the raw material from which this non-patriarchal utopia was composed.

But whatever part childhood played in shaping Fourier's vision of Harmony, there can be no doubt that it was the French Revolution which set Fourier in pursuit of an as yet unknown science of 'social well-being'. Fourier was not a dispassionate witness of the events of the revolutionary decade, but an involuntary victim. Early in 1793, he set himself up as a merchant in Lyons with what remained of his inheritance, but in July the city was placed under siege. The goods which Fourier had purchased were requisitioned without compensation and when the city fell to the Jacobins he was lucky to escape execution in the ensuing reprisals. He fled to Besançon and after a brief imprisonment and an unlikely spell as a cavalry officer in the army of the Rhine, he resumed work as a commercial traveller for his former employer in Lyons. His work took him mainly to Marseilles, the centre of a region ravaged by poverty, crime and brigandage. It was there in the late 1790s, in an economy afflicted by food shortages and by wartime profiteering, that Fourier's theory of 'free competition' as the 'declining' phase of civilisation took shape. For Fourier, these local calamities were but the symptoms of a universal condition, a basic disorder of civilisation with cosmic consequences.

At what stage Fourier came to consider that immediate events could only be understood in the light of a universal theory is not known. But the ambition to discover such a theory was already present in 1799, when he spent a year in Paris studying natural sciences at the Bibliothèque Nationale. Here he made his 'Columbus-like' discovery of the universal science of 'passionate attraction'. By 1800, however, he had spent what remained of his fortune and was forced back to work for his old employer. Now he was indeed 'the lowly shop-sergeant' described in *The Theory of the Four Movements*.

¹⁸ See S. Debout, 'Introduction', in C. Fourier, *Théorie des Quatre Mouvements et des Destinées Générales*, Paris, 1967, pp. 50-7.

In 1803 Fourier attracted attention in the Lyons press with an enigmatic proclamation of his discovery, together with some outrageous samples from his cosmology. In the same year, after receiving an official reprimand for a pessimistic article on the likely outcome of the struggle between France and Russia,¹⁹ Fourier wrote a ten-page 'Letter to the High Judge' outlining his 'discovery' and requesting that it be communicated to the First Consul (Napoleon).²⁰ This letter, which got no further than the police, is important because it shows that the essentials of Fourier's theory were already in place. Thereafter, until his book appeared, his publications were confined to poems, theatre criticism (some of which found its way into the book) and a pamphlet attacking Parisian merchants in Lyons. In private, however, between 1803 and 1806 Fourier laboured on a manuscript, developing his criticism of metaphysics, politics, political economy and moral philosophy. Parts of this were used in the third 'critical' section of his book.²¹ *The Theory of the Four Movements* itself was put together in the course of 1807. According to Fourier's later account, it was hurriedly composed partly to satisfy requests from the 'curious', and partly to escape a yet stricter censorship law imposed the following year.

The theory of passionate attraction

If Fourier is treated as he treated himself, as an *inventor*, questions about his seriousness become easier to answer. The ambition to tantalise, the mischievous setting of 'the pearl in the mud', formed part of an armoury of artless devices, designed to protect the discovery itself. Despite later denials, it is clear that Fourier hoped his book would be taken seriously. An all-too-successful determination to protect his invention appears to have been the reason why, alongside claims for his scientific discovery, Fourier had interspersed speculations about Earth's barren efforts to procreate, the

¹⁹ 'Triumvirat continental et paix perpétuelle sous trente ans', *Bulletin de Lyon*, 17 December 1803, for a description of this piece see Beecher, *Charles Fourier*, pp. 103-4.

²⁰ An English translation of this letter is published in J. Beecher and R. Bienvenu, *The Utopian Vision of Charles Fourier*, London, 1972, pp. 83-93.

²¹ See 'L'Egarement de la Raison démontrée par les ridicules des sciences incertaines', *OC*, vol. xii, pp. 587-682.

future recovery of its six moons, the prospective end of sea monsters and the future lemonade flavouring of the sea.

Fourier's claim was to have stumbled upon the 'social compass'. It was with the aid of 'a small calculation about association' that he was able to uncover the 'analytic and synthetic calculus of passionate attraction', his 'Columbus-like' discovery of 1799. His claim was not to have conceived a vision of human community as it might be, but to have 'discovered' a science of the world as it was.²²

The steps towards this discovery were recounted in *The Theory of the Four Movements*. What disturbed Fourier about the Revolution and its aftermath was not the disappearance of traditional authority, but rather the calamitous results of putting into practice the errors of metaphysics, the moral and political sciences and political economy. In the years up to 1793, France had become 'the testing ground for philosophical theories': first the hated Jacobin cult of equality and virtue, which had driven the country back to barbarism, and subsequently the 'free competition' celebrated by the 'economists', with its attendant scourges of poverty and unemployment.

This experience suggested to Fourier 'the absence of some form of organisation intended by God but unknown to our savants', or even that 'civilised industry' was 'a calamity invented by God as a punishment for the human race'. It was a growing certainty about the systematic falsity of the 'uncertain sciences' that prompted Fourier to adopt the principles of 'absolute doubt' and 'absolute separation'. 'Absolute doubt' led Fourier to question the 'necessity', 'excellence' and 'permanence' of civilisation itself. 'Absolute separation' led him to seek the source of improvement, not in politics or religion, but in the sphere of the 'domestic and industrial', which 'would be compatible with all governments'.²³

Fourier's researches began with the 'much-despised' problem of 'agricultural association'. How could three hundred families of differing degrees of wealth be brought together to form a 'NATURAL or ATTRACTIVE association', 'a society whose members would be driven to work by competition, self-esteem and other stimuli compatible with self-interest'? Fourier's disarmingly simple answer was:

²² Beecher and Bienvenu, *The Utopian Vision*, p. 84.

²³ *TTFM*, p. 9.

'by the lure of wealth and pleasures . . . passions common to everybody' and he likened it to the discovery of the compass.²⁴ The passions were to provide the lodestar of the new 'social science', just as the compass guided the helmsman.

Passionate attraction was the source of movement in Fourier's theory. It was 'the drive given by nature, prior to reflection and persistent despite the opposition of reason, duty, prejudice, etc.'²⁵ It was thus 'incompressible' and equally capable of producing harmony or chaos. Harmony depended upon the presence of a mechanism in which the passions could be combined. The 'uncertain sciences' of civilisation vainly attempted to repress the passions. But only the ineptitude of 'the sophists' could have led to the supposition 'that God could have created the passions . . . without having drawn up any plan for their employment'.²⁶ To attempt to repress the passions was to mistake symptom for cause. 'The sole tendency of the passions' was towards 'concord', but only insofar as 'they regularly encounter each other in the *progressive Series or series of groups*; outside this mechanism, the passions are no more than unleashed tigers, unfathomable enigmas'. It was the theory of progressive series which supplied Fourier's source of order. The progressive series was 'the passional code regulating our domestic, industrial and social relations'.²⁷

According to Fourier, there were twelve 'radical' passions to be combined and a thirteenth, 'unityism', which in harmony would comprehend the whole. The first five 'luxurious' passions corresponded to the five senses. These concerned relationships with things and their gratification depended upon health and material affluence; in Harmony, each sense would be accorded a guaranteed 'minimum' level of fulfilment. Secondly, there were the four affective passions – friendship, ambition, love and paternity or 'familism'. These passions concerned relationships with other persons and formed the basis of the four possible types of group, that of friends, of associates, of lovers and of familial relationships. Finally, there were the three 'distributive or mechanising' passions, the 'cabalist', the 'butterfly' and the 'composite'. Their function was to ensure

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

²⁵ 'Le nouveau monde industriel', *OC*, vol. VI, p. 47.

²⁶ *OC*, vol. III, p. 113.

²⁷ *TTFM*, p. 13.

co-ordination between the sensual and affective passions. The 'cabalist' was associated with the formation of combinations, with intrigue and calculation; it was the favourite passion of women, courtiers and politicians. The 'butterfly' referred to 'the need of periodic variety'. This passion was particularly important because it linked variety to 'rapidity of movement'; it was 'the universal agent of transition'. According to Fourier, the need for change was felt moderately every hour and 'acutely' every two hours. Hence the two-hourly change of activity in the phalanstery. The ennui of existing society was largely the result of the systematic denial of this passion embodied in the two main foundations of civilisation: marriage and work. Finally there was the 'composite'. This passion encompassed 'blind', uncalculating, rapturous enthusiasm and engaged both the senses and the soul. The 'composite' was particularly associated with love and was the passion nearest to God.

Out of these twelve passions and the different proportions in which they might coexist within each individual, Fourier devised his classification of 810 personality types. Allowing for the representation of the complete spectrum of personality types in each sex, the ideal size of the phalanstery was therefore set at 1,620.²⁸

Passionate attraction was not conceived as a psychological theory, but as the prime component of a theory of 'universal unity'. It was a primordial force, comparable to electricity in its ubiquity. Newton's theory of gravity formed but a part of it, for it determined the movement of all entities both large and small: 'We see that God confines himself to the sole lever of attraction in directing the planets and suns, creatures immensely greater than us, and the insects, which are far smaller than us. Would then man alone be excluded from the happiness of being guided to social well-being by attraction?'²⁹ Fourier's imagery was not romantic. The aim of science was simply to harness this cosmic source of energy, to bring mankind within the ordered domain of 'passionate gravitation'

²⁸ For descriptions of the phalanstery see Beecher and Bienvenu, *The Utopian Vision*, pp. 235-70 and see also N. V. Riasanovsky, *The Teachings of Charles Fourier*, Berkeley, CA, 1969, pp. 42-81.

²⁹ OC, vol. III, p. 248. On the sources of Fourier's vitalist conception of the universe see H. Tuzet, 'Deux types de cosmologies vitalistes. 2. Charles Fourier, hygiéniste du cosmos', *Revue des Sciences Humaines* 101 (1961), pp. 37-8.

according to the theorems of 'passional geometry'.³⁰ If human societies were in disequilibrium, it was because they were wrongly ordered and thus their movements were 'incoherent'. The multiple passionate attractions lacked any principle of combination and therefore blindly opposed each other.

The 'Series', Fourier's ordering principle, was 'a collection of several associated groups entirely devoted to the different branches of a single industry or a single passion'.³¹ Like passionate attraction itself, serial organisation was cosmic in scope. It did not purport to prescribe the ideal form of human organisation, but to describe the principle which governed the natural order.³² Just as the notion of attraction was borrowed from Newton, so the principle of classification into series and groups was derived from the botanical divisions of Linnaeus. But classification was only an ordering device. The enabling mechanisms, ensuring harmony within and between Series, were provided by the archetypes already found in the universe: mathematics, music and planetary movement. It was for this reason that Fourier often referred to the celestial harmonies of Kepler or to the 'calculus' of the passionate Series;³³ or, especially in later texts, to music. The twelve 'radical passions' corresponded to the twelve notes in a scale; groups were divided into 'major' or 'minor'; personality types were subdivided into 'solitones' or 'bitones' and could be combined in different keys.³⁴

These founding assumptions had radical implications. The first was that the passions could only be expressed within a collectivity. The basic unit in Fourier's theory was not the individual, but the group, whose minimum number was three. Hence the attack on the monogamous couple and the 'incoherent' household.³⁵ Similarly,

³⁰ For an interesting attempt to interpret Fourier in the context of the scientific developments of the late Enlightenment see I. D. Lloyd Jones, 'Charles Fourier: the faithful pupil of the Enlightenment', in P. Gilmour (ed.), *Philosophers of the Enlightenment*, Edinburgh, 1989, pp. 151-79.

³¹ *TTFM*, p. 12.

³² *OC*, vol. III, p. 19; see also *OC*, vol. VI, p. 52.

³³ In the earliest manuscripts the passions which Fourier later called the 'cabalist', 'the butterfly' and the 'composite' were termed 'composition', 'oscillation' and 'progression', see Beecher, *Charles Fourier*, p. 67; see also *OC*, vol. XII, p. 415.

³⁴ See, for instance, the 'general keyboard' of character traits in 'Le nouveau monde industriel et sociétaire', *OC*, vol. VI, pp. 340-4.

³⁵ See *OC*, vol. VI, p. 56.

there could be no such thing as individual happiness, worthiness or responsibility. Harmony was by definition a matter of chords, not of individual notes. Morality, therefore, based upon notions of personal merit, was without foundation; it was 'the fifth wheel on a cart'.³⁶ According to Fourier, the Christian belief in individual reward and punishment was a product of the charlatanism of the priests. God's *only* law was that of passionate attraction. All the miseries of the world were solely the result of ignoring this law.

Secondly, the passions were inescapably libidinal in their content. The tendency of passionate attraction was always towards 'luxury' or the 'pleasure' of the five senses, towards the formation of groups and affective ties, and towards 'universal unity'.³⁷ Thus, the attempt by the Fourierist school to confine passionate attraction to a doctrine of 'attractive work' was a basic distortion of the argument. The organisation of work and the organisation of pleasure were inextricably mixed. The alternative to higher wages – the only incentive offered by 'civilisation' – was not merely the pallid vision of 'association' depicted by the Fourierists of the 1830s. In Fourier's original picture, the rewards to be enjoyed by the workers were not only gastronomic or honorific, but also sexual. It was with the aid of 'the mechanisms of the amorous series' that the combined order would undertake 'the conquest of the great Sahara desert'. Similarly, the eating of meals would not be confined to the 'simple' gratification of the sense of taste, but would also involve the 'composed' gratification of all senses. Feasts and the choice of company would be planned and negotiated nightly at the phalanstery's replacement for the Bourse and, in the absence of children, might be complemented by an 'amorous session'.

Thirdly, as is made clear by his frequent references to domestic service in Harmony, to the different classes of foods and tables, and to the pleasure of attaining ranks and titles, Fourier's starting point presupposed a rejection of all notions of equality. Equality was 'a social poison'. Harmony was only possible if its members were unequal in fortune, age, ability and temperament. It depended, not upon sameness, but upon the delights of contrast and rivalry. Economists had wrongly assumed that poverty could only be eliminated

³⁶ *TTFM*, p. 186.

³⁷ *OC*, vol. vi, p. 47.

through the suppression of inequality. Fourier denied this equation. His solution to the 'social problem' would involve not equalisation but what he called 'graduated metamorphosis'.³⁸ Social science was 'the art of raising each class to the condition of the class above it' and this could be ensured by guaranteeing 'a social minimum'. In Harmony, both private property and separate classes would continue to exist, but in a modified form. There would only be three classes – capital, labour and talent – instead of the sixteen existing in civilisation. All participation in the work of the phalanstery would be voluntary and the profits of association would be distributed in fixed proportions between these three groups.³⁹

Fourier's theodicy and his critique of civilisation

From this conception of passionate attraction and serial order Fourier elaborated two further 'sciences', that of 'the destinies' and that of 'analogy'. Harmony, for Fourier, was not an ideal towards which humanity would have to strive, it was a future to which the soul was already attuned. According to Fourier's most famous saying, inscribed on his tombstone, 'the passions are proportional to the destinies'. If the passions produced discord in civilisation, it was because 'God had to shape our souls for the ages of happiness which will last seven times longer'.⁴⁰ Fourier shared the ancient and Renaissance belief in an affinity between natural and divine law, between the harmony of the passions and the harmony of the spheres. What was novel was his assumption that the natural order was still incomplete.

This meant that concord with nature was not a sufficient guide to the proportionality between the passions and the destinies. Nature was not adequate, not only because it was unfinished, but also because it was imperfect and dependent upon human activity for its perfection. Destiny was to be discovered, therefore, not by

³⁸ *OC*, vol. XI, p. 290.

³⁹ This distribution of the product was also derived from cosmic principles. Nature was composed of (1) 'God or Spirit', the active principle and principle of movement; (2) 'matter', the 'passive and moved principle' and (3) 'Justice or Mathematics', the regulatory principles of movement. Workers, capitalists and innovators divided the product of association in the proportions 5:4:3; for the twelve passions of human nature were composed out of just such proportions. See *TTFM*, p. 37.

⁴⁰ *TTFM*, p. 96.

studying nature, but by consulting desire. Indeed, destiny would have to provide an excess even beyond desire in its current form.⁴¹ For civilisation, according to Fourier, suffered not from the excess, but from the poverty of its desires. Its passions had been blocked and its imagination dulled by generations of priests and philosophers. Thus, nothing was more tedious than the Christian afterlife, whose only pastime would be the eternal face-to-face contemplation of the glory of God. In Fourier's alternative scenario, the dead would be endowed with all the passions of the living and all the means to gratify them.⁴²

That nature was incomplete was demonstrated by Fourier's 'science of analogy'. This 'science' rested on two propositions. The first was that 'there is a unified system of movement for the spiritual and material world'. Hence, 'the analogy of the four movements, material, organic, animal and social'. The second was that, of these four movements, the social was primary. This meant that 'everything, from atoms to stars, is an image of the properties of the human passions'.

The procedures of this 'science' of analogy were, to say the least, obscure. But its general purpose was clear enough. It was a new version of the theodicy. Without analogy, creation would become arbitrary, universal unity would become impossible, and the critique of civilisation would lack a systematic basis.⁴³ Fourier's theory depended upon the total purposefulness of creation. This enabled Fourier to attack both the Christians for their idea of the unknowability of God's purposes, and 'the sophists' (economists) who doubted the existence of a 'social destiny'. By making creation incomplete, however, Fourier's theodicy was able to propose a novel solution to the problem of evil and also allow space for notions of free will and perfectibility. God had 'left to our industry and our reason, the honour of intervening concurrently with him'.⁴⁴ If the social movement determined the other three movements and if the

⁴¹ See *OC*, vol. III, p. 312.

⁴² The best discussion of Fourier's conception of immortality and metempsychosis is to be found in M. Nathan, *Le Ciel des Fouriéristes: habitants des étoiles et réincarnation de l'âme*, Lyons, 1981.

⁴³ See Nathan, *Le Ciel*, p. 54.

⁴⁴ 'Du libre arbitre', *OC*, vol. XI, pp. 255-6.

world was a mirror of the human passions, then evil was a sign of what remained to be accomplished rather than a necessary imperfection in the best of all possible worlds.

What, then, was the relationship between this 'calculus of the Universal Destinies' and the critique of 'civilisation'? In the nineteenth century, knowledge of this critique was largely confined to its economic components. Industry was organised 'around some reversal of the natural order'.⁴⁵ Lacking any principle of association, it needlessly multiplied tasks. Its mode of work was based on coercion rather than attraction and was therefore scarcely better than slavery. The disorganisation of industry was associated with poverty, the main scandal of civilisation. The people lacked the right to work or any guaranteed 'minimum' and saw 'their wretchedness increase in direct proportion to the advance of industry'.⁴⁶ Above all, civilised industry was a system in which the producers were victims of the depredations of commerce which was 'the constant exercise of lying and trickery'. Furthermore, just as 'extremes touch' so free competition was turning into its opposite, the rule of monopolists, 'commercial vassalage' and 'industrial feudalism'.⁴⁷ Amidst wars, revolutions and speculation, industry with its monopolies and excesses had become a form of punishment in which people starved in the midst of plenty: this was Fourier's depiction of the 'crises pléthoriques' or periodic crises of overproduction, which so impressed Engels.⁴⁸ Under the domination of commerce, civilisation had 'reached the very bottom of the abyss'. But this marked the last phase of civilisation. In the coming sixth period of 'guaranteeism', the commercial body would be subordinated to the interests of the producers, and the mass would no longer be impoverished to the advantage of the few.

The nineteenth-century foregrounding of Fourier's attack upon free competition went together with a muted picture of the cosmology and a virtual elimination of the sexual and sensual content of the theory of passions and destinies. The most traditional and conventional aspects of Fourier's outlook – his denunciation of

⁴⁵ *TTFM*, p. 7.

⁴⁶ Beecher, *Charles Fourier*, p. 197.

⁴⁷ *TTFM*, p. 263.

⁴⁸ For Fourier's definition of 'crises pléthoriques' see *OC*, vol. vi, p. 43.

hoarding and speculation, his hatred of the Jews, his nationalist Anglophobia – were accentuated,⁴⁹ while the strange and uncompromising radicalism of his theodicy was reduced to the dimensions of a practicable programme of social reform.

Now that Fourier's critique of civilisation is restored to its original proportions, it is clear that economic criticism did not play the exclusive and determining role assigned to it by his later followers. In *The Theory of the Four Movements*, the analysis of 'commercial licence' provided only one of three 'demonstrations' of 'the inadequacy of the imprecise sciences'. The other two consisted of an attack upon the inadequacy of the Revolution's attempt to replace Christianity and a geopolitical analysis of the English 'insular monopoly' whose function had been to make 'civilised politics ridiculous'. Fourier's main point was to stress that the transition to a new period would come not through politics, but through changes in 'the domestic and industrial sphere', that is, in sexual relations and work. In civilisation, both these activities were pursued outside the framework of the serial code; hence the parallel manifestations of disorder in each sphere and the difficulty of finding an honest merchant or a faithful spouse.

Women and the poor were the victims of adultery and fraud. But Fourier neither demonised the oppressors, nor sentimentalised the oppressed. His followers dramatised the sufferings of these victims of civilisation in the name of social conscience. But this was a return to the discredited science of morality. For Fourier himself, self-interest provided the only spur to action.⁵⁰ What stood in place of compassion was the universality of passion. This was what bound together the cosmology and the critique of civilisation.

The emphasis of the Fourierist school upon changes in industrial organisation arose largely from its desire to avoid the scandalous implications of 'the amorous corporation'. But whatever the precise

⁴⁹ Fourier was himself in part responsible for this change by presenting a shortened and sanitised version of his theory in '*Le nouveau monde industriel et sociétaire*' (1829). For Fourier's attitude to the Jews see E. Silberner, 'Charles Fourier on the Jewish question', *Jewish Social Studies*, 8 (1946), pp. 245–66.

⁵⁰ Fourier discerned an affinity between his approach and that of Bentham: 'I have only seen one civilised writer who has got a little way towards the definition of true happiness; it is Mr Bentham who demands realities and not illusions; all the others are so far from the goal that they are not worth criticising', '*Le nouveau monde*', *OC*, vol. vi, p. 348.

mechanism of transition from civilisation to 'the combined order', it is clear that in Fourier's picture historical change was propelled less by changes in the organisation of production than by changes in the practice of love. Underlying the thirty-two periods of the Earth's allotted life was a familiar tripartite division drawn from sacred history. But in place of the Biblical story, Fourier's 'fall' was defined by the emergence of the 'incoherent household', the subjection of women and the poverty engendered by 'excessive procreation'.⁵¹

If God had given 'amorous custom so much influence over the social mechanism', it was because he only recognised a 'freedom that encompasses both sexes'. Similarly God decreed that after civilisation the succession of periods would be distinguished by 'the progressive liberation of the weaker sex'. Women were moved by desire and thus closer to God's design. To judge them by their present state would be akin to 'judging beavers by the stupefaction they show in captivity'. It was women who suffered the most in civilisation, and if they did not take the lead in attacking it, it was because they were trained in a spirit of servility and numbed by the dullness of housework. But in the combined order, women would surpass men, just as children would surpass adults. For the mechanisms of attraction were 'the opposite in every way of civilised opinion'. They worked not from strong to weak, but from weak to strong.⁵²

Conclusion

Whatever the extravagance and eccentricity of its detail, *The Theory of the Four Movements* provides an invaluable insight into the origins of socialist criticism. Conventional scholarship still tends to attribute the origins of 'socialism' to a heightened concern for equality arising from the French Revolution and to the economic changes consequent upon the 'industrial revolution'. In Fourier's case, it is clear that these were not his preoccupations. Conceived at the end of the revolutionary decade, this text is most immediately a reminder that the French Revolution had involved not only the

⁵¹ Beecher and Bienvenu, *The Utopian Vision*, p. 89.

⁵² *TTFM*, pp. 68, 92, 145, 263.

transformation of the state, but also the attempt to replace the Church. Fourier's economic criticism, so influential in shaping the subsequent socialist tradition, began in this context. *The Theory of the Four Movements* is a reminder that 'socialism' began as an attempt to discover a successor, not to capitalism, but to the Christian Church.

Principal events in Fourier's life

- 1772 Born, Besançon, 7 April.
- 1781 Death of Fourier's father. Educated at the Collège de Besançon.
- 1789 Attempts to avoid commercial apprenticeship at Lyons.
- 1790 Sent to commercial apprenticeship at Rouen, but does not stay. First visit to Paris in the company of his brother-in-law, the future famous chef Brillat-Savarin.
- 1791 Once more in Lyons as a traveller for a commercial house.
- 1793 Receives his inheritance but loses much of it in the forced requisitioning of provisions during the siege of Lyons by the Jacobins. Fourier imprisoned after the fall of the city. After his release, returned to Besançon. Again, briefly imprisoned, then enlisted in the army of the Rhine and the Moselle as a cavalryman.
- 1796 Released from army. Resumed work as a commercial traveller, working mainly around Marseilles.
- 1799 The year of his 'discovery' of the 'science' of 'passionate attraction'. Spends time in Paris at the Bibliothèque Nationale. Loses remnant of his fortune.
- 1800 Returns to Lyons and resumes work as a commercial traveller and unlicensed broker.
- 1803-4 First publications in the *Bulletin de Lyon*.
- 1808 Publication of *The Theory of the Four Movements*.
- 1812 Death of Fourier's mother. Fourier bequeathed an annual pension of 900 francs.
- 1815 During the Hundred Days Fourier became Head of the

- Office of Statistics in the Prefecture of the Rhône.
- 1816 Contacted by his first disciple, Juste Muiron.
- 1816-20 Retired to the countryside (Tallieu, Belley) to help look after his nieces and to prepare the *Grande traité*, which he never completed.
- 1822 Helped by Juste Muiron, Fourier publishes the *Traité de l'association domestique-agricole* in Besançon.
- 1822-5 In Paris in an unsuccessful attempt to publicise the *Traité*, including an attempt to interest Robert Owen. Returned to employment in Lyons in 1825 after his savings ran out.
- 1826 Takes up permanent residence in Paris to publicise his discovery. Finds employment in an American commercial house, in which he was put in charge of correspondence and accounts. Through the efforts of Juste Muiron, Fourier now possesses a small, but energetic, band of followers including Clarisse Vigoureux, Victor Considérant, Godin, Gréa, Gabet and Pellarin.
- 1829 In response to the urging of these disciples, Fourier publishes in Besançon an abridged and respectable version of his doctrine, *Le Nouveau monde industriel et sociétaire*. Makes contacts with the Saint-Simonians and is in correspondence with Enfantin.
- 1831 His *Pièges et charlataneries des sectes de Saint-Simon et Owen* appears, a violent denunciation of other 'socialist' schools.
- 1832 Foundation of the first Fourierist journal, *Le Phalanstère* (until 1834). Growth of the *école sociétaire* (the societarian school). First and failed attempt to establish a 'Phalanx' at Condé-sur-Vesgre near Rambouillet.
- 1835 Fourier now famous. Publishes his last book, *La Fausse Industrie*.
- 1836 Failing health. New Fourierist journal founded, *La Phalange* (until 1849).
- 1837 Dies October 10. Buried in Montmartre cemetery.

A brief note on further reading (in English)

The standard modern edition of Fourier is *Oeuvres Complètes de Charles Fourier*, 12 vols., Paris (Anthropos), 1966–8. There is no English equivalent, or indeed any translation of a complete Fourier text in English since the translation of Fourier manuscripts of *The Passions of the Human Soul and their Influence on Society and Civilisation* by the Fourierist enthusiast Hugh Doherty in London, in 1851. The best English selection from Fourier's writings, together with a substantial introduction, is J. Beecher and R. Bienvenu, *The Utopian Vision of Charles Fourier*, London, 1972. Another useful selection is to be found in M. Poster, *Harmonian Man: Selected Writings of Charles Fourier*, New York, 1971.

The best modern study of Fourier's life and his ideas is J. Beecher, *Charles Fourier: The Visionary and his World*, 1986. Much briefer, but containing a useful discussion of Fourier from the perspective of literary studies, psychoanalysis and feminism is M. C. Spencer, *Charles Fourier*, Boston, 1981. A particularly enjoyable as well as an insightful account of Fourier's relationship to writing is to be found in R. Barthes, *Sade, Fourier, Loyola*, London, 1976. Useful information on Fourier's relationship with late eighteenth-century science and philosophy is to be found in I. D. Lloyd Jones, 'Charles Fourier: The faithful pupil of the Enlightenment' in P. Gilmour (ed.), *Philosophers of the Enlightenment*, Edinburgh, 1989. On the impact of Fourierism in Britain, see R. K. P. Pankhurst, 'Fourierism in Britain', *International*

Review of Social History, 1, 1956, pp. 398–432. On the impact of Fourierism in the New World, see the thorough and excellent study by C. J. Guarneri, *The Utopian Alternative. Fourierism in Nineteenth-Century America*, Ithaca, 1991.

Translator's introduction

Textual and bibliographical note

Fourier's *Théorie des Quatre Mouvements et des Destinées Générales* was first published in Lyons (though the place of publication was given on the title page as Leipzig) in 1808. It was reprinted in 1841, in Paris, as vol. 1 of the *Oeuvres complètes* (Paris, 1841–5), and again in 1846. The twelve volumes of the *Oeuvres complètes* were reprinted by Anthropos (Paris, 1966–8). The *Oeuvres complètes* are, in fact, far from being complete, as Fourier left 98 notebooks and a mass of manuscript material which was selectively quarried for the 1841 edition. Most of this material remains unpublished. For a detailed description of it, see Emile Poulat, *Les Cahiers manuscrits de Fourier; étude historique et inventaire raisonné* (Paris, 1957).

For the edition of 1841, the editors incorporated a number of changes and additions taken from Fourier's own annotations to three copies of the 1808 edition, all of which they marked by enclosing them within square brackets. I have followed this practice for substantive changes or corrections, while omitting minor additions, emendations and stylistic changes. I have also followed the 1841 editors in replacing the word 'Sect', which Fourier used throughout the first edition, with the more familiar 'Series', and in capitalising terms such as 'Civilisation' and 'General Destinies'. Tracing Fourier's citations from other writers has not been straightforward. It is not always clear how far he read these texts in their original forms, and how far in anthologies or other edited collections; furthermore, his quotations are not always accurate, nor correctly attributed (where they are attributed at all). Wherever possible, I have provided references for them in the footnotes: some, however, remain

unidentified. Fourier's own footnotes, or those of the 1841 editors incorporating his emendations, are lettered; my editorial footnotes are numbered. I have also modernised geographical names in almost all cases, using the forms currently given in the *Times Atlas of the World*, seventh edition (thus, for example, Fourier's 'Zuruchaïtu' is rendered as 'Starotsurukhaytuy'). In two or three cases I have been unable to identify the place he intended, and have left those names in the form Fourier used.

In basing the translation on the first edition I have used the 1967 edition edited by Simone Debout (Paris, Jean-Jacques Pauvert, 1967), silently correcting a few mistranscriptions, and I would like to record my acknowledgement to that edition. I have also consulted earlier translations of some excerpts which appeared in *Selections from the Works of Fourier*, translated by Julia Franklin (Swan Sonnenschein and Co., 1901), and in *The Utopian Vision of Charles Fourier. Selected Texts on Work, Love and Passionate Attraction*, translated, edited and with an introduction by Jonathan Beecher and Richard Bienvenu (London, Jonathan Cape, 1972).

It was not until some time after the translation had been completed that I discovered, in the library of the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Centre at the University of Texas at Austin, a copy of a nineteenth-century translation by Henry Clapp, Jr., which has been almost entirely neglected and forgotten: '*The Social Destiny of Man or Theory of the Four Movements* by Charles Fourier, translated by Henry Clapp, Jr., with a treatise on the function of the human passions, and an outline of Fourier's system of social science by Albert Brisbane' (New York, Robert M. Dewitt and Calvin Blanchard, 1857). Albert Brisbane's introduction to Fourier's system runs to 199 pages.

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CHARLES FOURIER

*Theory of the Four Movements and of the
General Destinies*

TRANSLATED BY IAN PATTERSON

1808 Introduction

At the outset of this work, as well as at its conclusion, I want to call attention to a truth quite new to civilised man: namely that the Theory of the Four Movements – *social, animal, organic* and *material* – is the only subject of study that reason should sanction. It is the study of the General System of Nature, a problem God gives all Globes to resolve; and their inhabitants can only achieve happiness after they have resolved it.

Hitherto you have neither solved this problem nor even studied it; you have reached no further than the fourth, and lowest, branch of the theory, the one that deals with *material movement*, whose laws have been unveiled by Newton and Leibniz. I shall have occasion more than once to criticise this slow development of human intelligence.

In advance of the publication of my theory (as advertised)¹ the present volume provides a slight glimpse of it, to which I have added some extended remarks on the political ignorance of Civilised Man, the two main examples of this ignorance being drawn:

In the 2nd part, from the vices of the conjugal system;

In the 3rd part, from the vices of the commercial system;

and from the stupidity of the philosophers, who have done nothing to seek any better arrangement for the union of the sexes and the exchange of industrial products.

These are, admittedly, somewhat minor arguments to adduce in support of an announcement as important as the discovery of the

¹ See p. 309, n.1.

Laws of Movement; but it was necessary for me to expatiate on some of the absurdities of Civilised Politics in order to make my readers aware of the existence of a more exact Science which would refute the philosophic Sciences.

In the course of reading, it should be borne in mind that because the discovery it announces is more important on its own than all the scientific work done since the human race began, civilised people should henceforth concern themselves with one debate only: whether or not I have really discovered the Theory of the Four Movements; for if the answer is affirmative, all economic, moral and political theories will need to be thrown away, and preparations made for the most astounding, and happiest, event possible on this or any other globe, *the transition from social chaos to universal harmony*.

Preliminary discourse

On the stupidity of the civilised nations which have forgotten or scorned the two branches of research which lead to the theory of destinies: the study of Agricultural Association and the study of Passionate Attraction.

And on the dire results of this stupidity which, for 2,300 years, has needlessly prolonged the period of social chaos, i.e. savage, barbaric and civilised societies, which are far from being the destiny of the human race.

If we consider the wealth of great minds Civilisation has produced, especially during the eighteenth century, it is easy to imagine that they have exhausted all areas of investigation, and that, far from hoping for great discoveries, we cannot expect even insignificant ones.

This prejudice will be overcome: men will learn that the enlightenment that has been gained so far amounts to scarcely a quarter of that which remains still to be acquired, and which will be acquired *in toto* by means of the Theory of the Four Movements.¹ It is the key to all the discoveries of which the human mind is capable; it will rapidly initiate us into knowledge which, at the slow rate of current methods, could take another ten thousand years of study to attain.

The announcement of this theory is bound to arouse mistrust in the first instance, simply because it promises to raise men to an

¹ In the second edition this phrase is replaced by 'the theory of the "General Destinies" '.

understanding of the destinies. I therefore intend to begin by describing the pointers which set me on the right track; this explanation will demonstrate that the discovery required no scientific effort, and that the meanest thinker ought to have been able to get there before I did, if only they had had the one quality necessary for this study, the absence of prejudices. It is on this point that, for the calculus of the destinies, I had an aptitude lacked by the Philosophers, who, for all their pretence at combating them, are actually supporters and propagators of prejudices.

I only include under the name of Philosophers authors in the speculative or inexact sciences: politicians, moralists, economists and others whose theories are not compatible with experience and are regulated only by their authors' fantasies. Remember, then, that when I use the term the PHILOSOPHERS, I mean those of the inexact class, and not those who write about the definitive sciences.

Pointers and methods which led to this discovery

I had no idea originally that I would be conducting research into the destinies. I shared the general opinion that they are impenetrable, that any calculations on that subject belong with the visions of astrologers and magicians, whereas the investigations which led me to them were just concerned with the industrial and political problems which I shall now briefly outline.

Since the Philosophers demonstrated their ineptitude in their attempt to put their ideas into practice in the French Revolution, everybody has agreed in regarding their science as an aberration of the human mind, and their floods of political and moral enlightenment as no more than floods of illusion. How else, after all, can we view the writings of these scholars who, having taken twenty-five centuries to perfect their theories and having brought together the whole of ancient and modern wisdom, begin by creating as many calamities as they promised benefits, and lead civilised society back towards a state of barbarism?

Such was the effect of those first five years in which France became a testing-ground for philosophical theories.

After the catastrophe of 1793, illusions were dispelled and modern political sciences were irrevocably stigmatised and discredited. People thenceforth were forced to recognise that no good

was to be anticipated from any of the knowledge accumulated thus far, and that they would have to look to some new science to provide social well-being, and find new and original paths for political thought; it was obvious that neither the Philosophers nor their opponents were able to alleviate the miseries of society, and that their respective dogmas served only to mask the continuing presence of its worst scourges, including poverty.

It was pondering this that first led me to suspect the existence of a social science of which we were still unaware, and stimulated me to try to discover what it was. I was not at all disturbed by my lack of knowledge: I thought only of the honour of being the one to grasp what twenty-five centuries of learning had been unable to discover.

I was encouraged by numerous indications of irrationality, particularly by the spectacle of the scourges afflicting social industry, such as poverty, unemployment, thriving dishonesty, maritime piracy, commercial monopolies, the abduction of slaves, in fact too many misfortunes to enumerate, all of which caused me to wonder whether civilised industry was not a calamity invented by God as a punishment for the human race.

My next step was to suppose that industry was organised around some reversal of the natural order, that it operated perhaps in a way that was contrary to God's designs, and that the persistence of so many scourges could be attributed to the absence of some form of organisation intended by God but unknown to our scholars. Finally I thought that if, as Montesquieu believed, human societies have fallen victim to 'a wasting disease, an inner vice, a secret, hidden venom', then the remedy might be found by ignoring the paths our inexact sciences have taken for so many centuries and with so little result. I therefore took as the rule governing my researches *ABSOLUTE DOUBT AND ABSOLUTE SEPARATION*, processes which need to be defined, as nobody has ever used them before.

1. *Absolute doubt.* Descartes had some notion of this but although he extolled and recommended doubt he made only limited and inappropriate use of it. He raised absurd doubts, like doubting his own existence, and spent his time refining the sophisms of the ancients instead of seeking truths that were useful.

Descartes' successors made even less use of doubt than he did: they only applied it to things they did not like, as for instance

questioning the necessity of religion because they were antagonistic to priests. But they were very careful not to question the necessity of the moral and political sciences which provided their daily bread and butter, and which are nowadays recognised to be useless under strong governments, and dangerous under weak ones.

As I had no connection with any scientific school, I decided to apply doubt to all opinions without exception, even regarding with suspicion arrangements which had universal agreement; for although this Civilisation is the idol of all philosophical schools, and the one they believe to be most nearly perfect, what could be more imperfect than Civilisation, and all the scourges it brings with it? What more dubious than its necessity and its future permanence? Is it not far more likely that it is just one more rung on the ladder of human progress? Does it follow that because it was preceded by three other societies, Savagery, Patriarchate and Barbarism, this fourth must therefore be the last? Might it not give rise to others, so that we could have a fifth, sixth or seventh social order which might perhaps be less disastrous than Civilisation, but which are still unknown to us because nobody has ever tried to find them? Doubt must therefore be applied to Civilisation: we must doubt its necessity, its excellence and its permanence. These are problems which the philosophers do not dare to consider because if they started being suspicious of Civilisation they would risk invalidating their theories, which are all linked to Civilisation and which will all fall with it as soon as a better social order is found to replace it.

The philosophers have therefore restricted themselves to *Partial Doubt* because they have books and professional prejudices to defend, and for fear of compromising either the books or the coterie they have always equivocated over the important problems. I however, with no shared viewpoint to uphold, have been able to adopt absolute doubt and apply it above all to Civilisation and its most entrenched prejudices.

2. *Absolute separation.* My assumption was that the surest way of arriving at useful discoveries was to stand aloof in all ways from the paths followed by the inexact sciences, none of which has made any discovery remotely useful to the social body, and which, despite the immense progress of industry, have not even managed to prevent poverty. My task, as I saw it, was thus to maintain a constant oppositional stance *vis-à-vis* that body of knowledge. Looking at the

huge number of writers involved, I assumed that any subject they had dealt with must be thoroughly exhausted, and I decided to tackle only problems which none of them had attempted to investigate.

As a result I avoided any research which involved the interests of throne or altar, with both of which the philosophers had been ceaselessly occupied since their science began, always seeking social well-being through religious or governmental innovations; my approach, by contrast, sought good only in functions which had no connection with priesthood or administration, which would rely solely on domestic or industrial measures and which would be compatible with all governments without requiring their intervention.

By following these two guides, *absolute doubt* about all prejudices, and *absolute separation* from all known theories, I was bound to open up a new field of thought, if there was such a thing, but I certainly did not expect to grasp the calculus of the destinies. Far from any such lofty aims, in fact, I began by thinking about quite ordinary problems, the most important of which were *agricultural association* and the *indirect repression of the commercial monopoly of the islanders*. I mention these two because both the problems and their solution are related. There is no way of indirectly combating the monopoly of island powers without operating agricultural association and, *vice versa*, as soon as some way of creating agricultural association has been found, it operates easily and inevitably to put an end to island monopolies, piracy, speculation, bankruptcy and other scourges which industry is prey to.

I hasten to set down these consequences in order to attract a degree of interest in the problem of *agricultural association*, which seems so unimportant that scholars have never condescended to consider it.

Let me at this point remind the reader that I have deemed it necessary to give him some awareness of the calculations which paved the way for my discovery. Consequently, I shall be expounding a subject which may appear to have very little to do with the destinies – *agricultural association*. When I myself began to speculate about this subject I had no idea that such a modest calculation might lead to the theory of the destinies; however, since it has become the key to them, it is essential that I should talk about them at some length.

Agricultural association

The solution to this much-despised problem led to the solution of all political problems. Everybody knows that very small instruments are often enough to carry out the largest tasks; a metal needle, for example, can control lightning or steer a ship through storms and darkness; and it is with comparably simple means that we can put an end to all forms of social disaster. It will thus be of interest to many, I am sure, to learn that, while Civilisation is bathing in blood in order to appease mercantile jealousies, an industrial operation is going to put an end to them for ever, without any combat, and that maritime might, hitherto so powerful, will sink into absolute oblivion as a result of *agricultural association*.

This mode of organisation was not practicable in antiquity, because agricultural workers were slaves; the Greeks and Romans sold farmworkers like beasts of burden, with the agreement of their philosophers who never appealed against this odious custom. These scholars were accustomed to thinking that anything they had not seen was impossible; they imagined that farmworkers could not be freed without a complete reversal of the social order, yet they have successfully attained their liberty, and the social order is merely better organised. The philosophers still have the same prejudice towards agricultural association as they once had towards slavery: because it has never existed, they think it is impossible. Seeing village families working unsystematically, they think there is no way of bringing them into closer association; or at least that is what they pretend to think, because on this point as on all others they have an interest in claiming as insoluble any problem which they are unable to solve.

Nonetheless, people have occasionally caught a glimpse of the incalculable economies and improvements that would result if the inhabitants of each hamlet could be brought together in industrial society, if two to three hundred families of unequal wealth could form an association proportionate to their capital and their industriousness to cultivate a canton.

At first sight the idea seems unwieldy and impractical because of the obstacle the passions would present to any such gathering, an obstacle which is all the more daunting as they cannot be overcome in gradual stages. Bringing twenty, thirty or forty individuals

together, or even a hundred, is hardly sufficient to create an agricultural association: at least eight hundred are needed for the formation of a *NATURAL* or *ATTRACTIVE* association. I mean by these terms a society whose members would be driven to work by competition, self-esteem and other stimuli compatible with self-interest; this new order will fill us with enthusiasm for agricultural work, although at present it is regarded as suitable only for the lowest, and is only done out of necessity and the fear of dying of hunger.

I shall not recount in detail the research I had to carry out into the problem of natural association, as it is such a different system from the one we are used to that it seems best to reveal it slowly; a mere description might make it seem ridiculous unless the reader has been disposed towards it by some glimpse of the enormous advantages which will result from it.

Agricultural associations, given something like a thousand people, offer such huge advantages to industry that it is hard to explain why modern philosophers have shown such a lack of interest in the subject, especially as there is one class of scientists, namely economists, whose job it is to calculate ways of improving industry. Their failure to search for a method of association is all the more difficult to imagine because they themselves have often pointed out the advantages it would bring. For example, they have acknowledged – as anyone else could have done – that three hundred families of associated villagers need have only one well-ordered granary, instead of three hundred ill-kept ones; only one wine-vat instead of three hundred, most of which will be inadequately looked after; and often, particularly in summer, no more than three or four large ovens instead of three hundred. Nor is there any need to send more than one milk-maid to town, with a large barrel of milk in a wagon, thus saving the hundred half-days lost when a hundred milk-maids all set off to town, each carrying her own jug of milk. These are just some of the savings perceived by different commentators; and yet they represent scarcely a twentieth of the benefits which agricultural association would confer.

It was thought to be impossible because nobody knew how to bring it into being. Was this, though, a reason to conclude that no way would ever be found and therefore that one should not be sought? Bearing in mind that it would triple the benefits of general exploitation, there can be no doubt that God was bound to reveal

the means of establishing it, for his principal concern must be the organisation of the industrial mechanism which is the pivot of human societies.

The argumentative will still raise numerous objections: 'How can you forge one social unit out of families, some of whom may possess 100,000 livres and others not a sou? How will you sort out so many different interests, or reconcile so many contradictory desires? How will you absorb all these jealousies within a plan which unites everyone's interests?' To which I answer: by the lure of wealth and pleasure. The strongest passion of peasants, as of city-dwellers, is a love of profit. When they see an associative community yielding a profit (other things being equal) *three times* as large as that produced by a community of isolated families, as well as providing all its members with the most varied pleasures, they will forget all their rivalries and hasten to put association into practice. And no laws or coercion will be necessary for this to spread to every part of the world, because people everywhere are motivated by a desire for wealth and pleasure.

To sum up, then, this theory of agricultural association, which is going to change the fortunes of the human race, appeals to the passions common to everybody, and seduces them with the allurements of profit and sensual pleasure; this guarantees its success among barbarians and savages as well as among civilised people, since the passions are the same everywhere.

There is no urgency about describing this new order, to which I shall give the name *progressive Series* or *Series of groups*, *passionate Series*. These terms refer to a collection of several associated groups entirely devoted to the different branches of a single industry or a single passion. On this, see Note A,² in which I set out a few ideas about the organisation of progressive Series; these are far from being complete, but they will prevent false impressions about this mechanism from being formed on the basis of the few details I have made public, which always get distorted in the process of repetition.

The theory of *passionate Series* or *progressive Series* is not an arbitrary product of imagination. Unlike our social theories, the Series are in all points regulated like a geometrical Series; they have pre-

² See p. 289.

cisely analogous properties, such as a balance of rivalries between the extreme and intermediate groups of the Series. This is explained in greater detail in Note A.

Hitherto, the passions have always been regarded as antipathetic to concord and have been attacked in thousands of books, which will now have to be consigned to oblivion, because the truth is that the sole tendency of the passions is towards concord and the social unity which we believed was so far removed from them. But they can only be harmonised insofar as they regularly encounter each other in the *progressive Series or Series of groups*: outside this mechanism, the passions are no more than unleashed tigers, unfathomable enigmas. Which is the reason the philosophers have given for saying they need to be repressed: a doubly absurd opinion since the passions cannot be repressed and, if they were repressed, Civilisation would go into rapid decline and return to a state of nomadism, in which the passions would be even more harmful than they are for us, for I have no more faith in the virtues of shepherds than I have in those of their apologists.

The ordered society that is going to succeed our civilised incoherence will have no place for moderation or equality or any other philosophical outlooks: it requires pure, ardent passions. From the moment the association is formed, the stronger and more numerous the passions are, the more easily they will harmonise with each other.

I do not mean that this new order will change the passions in any way: neither God nor man can do that; yet it is possible to change their course without altering their nature. For example a man with no money may hate the idea of marriage, but if he is offered a wife with an income of 100,000 livres as dowry he will happily consent to a union which the previous day he would have rejected out of hand. Does this mean his passions have changed? No, just that his dominant passion, love of wealth, has changed course and, in pursuit of the same aim, taken a route which he did not like the day before. His nature is unaltered; only the course it takes has changed.

Therefore if I suggest that in the societary order people's tastes and preferences will differ from those they have at present, and that they will prefer living in the country to living in cities, it must

not be taken to mean that by altering their tastes they will also have changed their passions: they will still be led by their love of wealth and pleasure.

I emphasise this in order to dispel an absurd objection sometimes raised by those unintelligent listeners who, when they hear any mention of the changes in taste and custom that will occur in the societary order, instantly shout, 'So you want to change the passions!' Of course I do not. What I want to do is to open up new opportunities and give them three or four times the scope to develop that they have in the incoherent order we live in. For that reason, we shall see civilised people taking against customs or habits which at present they enjoy, such as family life. They will realise that children spend all their time at home crying, breaking things, quarrelling and refusing to do any work, while as soon as they join *progressive Series* or *Series of groups* they will work all the time, competing spontaneously among themselves, and eagerly finding out as much as they can about agriculture, manufacture, science and the arts, being productive and profitable while they think they are just enjoying themselves. Once fathers see the new order they will find their children adorable when they are in *Series* and detestable in incoherent households. And when they see that everybody in the residence of a *Phalanx* (that is the name I give to the association which cultivates a canton) eats so well that, for a third of the cost of a meal in a normal household, they enjoy meals three times as delicate and three times as copious, and are thus able to eat three times better for a third of the household cost, as well as not having to procure and prepare the food; and when, finally, they see that there is never any duplicity among members of the *Series*, and that people who were coarse and dishonest in *Civilisation* become radiantly truthful and polite in the *Series*, they will turn away from the homes, the cities and the *Civilisation* which command their affection at the moment, and come together in association in a *phalanx* of *Series* and live in its building. Will they have changed their passions, just because they scorn the customs and tastes which they like today? No, but their passions will have changed course, without having changed their nature or their ultimate aim. It is important to realise, therefore, that the order of *progressive Series*, which will not be in the least like *Civilisation*, will not produce the slightest change in the passions. These always have been, and always will

be, immutable; and they will create conflict and poverty outside the progressive Series as well as harmony and wealth within the societ-ary state which is our destiny. Once established in a single canton they will be imitated spontaneously in every country, simply by virtue of the vast profits and numberless pleasures this order will guarantee all individuals, however rich or poor they may be.

I move on now to a scientific consideration of the results of this discovery.

On passionate attraction and its relations with the definitive sciences

Is it as a result of contempt, oversight, or fear of failure that scientists have neglected the problem of association? The motive does not matter; the fact is that they have neglected it: I am the first and only one to have concerned myself with it. Therefore if the theory of association, hitherto undiscovered, leads to further discoveries, if it is the key to new sciences, their discovery is due to me alone, as I am the only one who has sought out and grasped this theory.

As far as the new sciences are concerned, to which it provides access, I shall just indicate the two most important; and as these details will not interest the majority of readers I shall be as brief as possible.

The first science I discovered was the theory of passionate attraction. When I realised that the progressive Series would ensure that everybody's passions were fully developed, irrespective of sex, age or social class, and that in the new order these increased passions would bring with them commensurately greater health and strength, I conjectured that if God had given so much influence to passionate attraction and so little to its enemy, reason, it must be in order to lead us to the order of the progressive Series in which all aspects of attraction would be satisfied. This led me to suppose that attraction, so scorned by the philosophers, was the correct way to interpret God's views about the social order. Thus I arrived at the *analytic and synthetic calculus of passionate attraction and repulsion*, which in turn leads ineluctably to agricultural association. So if anybody had attempted an analytic and synthetic study of attraction, they would have discovered the laws of association without looking for

them. But nobody dreamed of doing it, not even in the eighteenth century when analytical methods were applied to everything, except attraction.

The theory of passionate attraction and repulsion is constant and completely consonant with the theorems of geometry. There are many important ways in which it can be developed, and it might well provide food for thought for philosophers who, I think, badly need some illuminating and useful subject on which to exercise their metaphysics.

To continue with the antecedents and connections of the new sciences, I soon saw that the laws of passionate attraction agreed in all respects with the laws of material attraction as explained by Newton and Leibniz, and that there was *a unified system of movement for the spiritual and the material world*. I suspected that this analogy could be extended to cover particular instances as well as general laws; that the attractions and properties of animals, vegetables and minerals might be co-ordinated on the same level as those of man and the stars. After doing the necessary research I became convinced that this was so. Thus another definitive science was discovered: *the analogy of the Four Movements, material, organic, animal and social*,¹ or *the analogy of the modifications of matter with the mathematical theory of the passions of man and animals*.

The discovery of these two definitive sciences led to my finding others, which there would be no point in listing here. They extend as far as literature and the arts, and will establish exact methods in all fields of human knowledge.

As soon as I had understood the two theories of attraction and the unity of the Four Movements, I began to decipher the book of nature; one after another, its former mysteries were explained. I had lifted the supposedly impenetrable veil, and now stepped forward into a new scientific world. Thus it was that, step by step, I arrived at the calculus of universal destinies, or the determination

¹ In the annotated copy, Fourier altered this division to five: [Pivotal Movement: (the Social or the Passional); Cardinal Movements: (the Aromal,* the Instinctual, the Organic, the Material)].

* The Aromal Movement or system for the distribution of known or unknown aromas, which control men and animals, form the seeds of winds and epidemics, govern the sexual relations of the planets and provide the seeds of created species.]

of the fundamental system that governs the laws of all movements, past, present and to come.

It is difficult to say what is the more surprising element in this success, the good fortune by which these new sciences were revealed to me, with the aid of a small calculation about association, which is the key to them, or the stupidity of the scientists of twenty-five centuries who never thought of concerning themselves with this calculus, despite all the other fields in which they exhausted themselves. I believe the choice must be made in my favour, and that the extent of my discoveries will seem less surprising than the stupidity of the centuries who failed to make them.

However I have already consoled the scientists for their disgrace by showing them that a harvest of glory and riches awaits them all: I bring more new sciences than there were gold mines in the newly discovered Americas. But not having the knowledge needed to develop all, I shall take only one for myself, that of *Social Movement*, and leave all the rest to provide a rich field for other learned thinkers.

They certainly need some new source of nourishment! All classes of thinkers are in dire straits, reduced to impoverished gleanings. The known sciences have been worked and reworked down to the last grain; there is nothing left for them to do except create sophistical arguments, filling twice the number of volumes by first raising then refuting each error.

From now on, the scene is changed. Scholars will move from absolute privation to excessive opulence; the harvest will be so copious that they can all think they are sharing in it, and can all establish colossal reputations for themselves, because they will be the first to exploit this mine of scientific ideas, and they will seize the richest veins. When I produce the second treatise, dealing with *animal* and *organic* movements, they will each glimpse subjects on which they will be able to compose treatises of definitive science. I stress the term *Definitive Science*, because there is no shortage of vague and whimsical sciences in this area, such as botany, the different systems of which are merely arbitrarily classified tables; they bear no relation to the method of nature, which is to co-ordinate all the forms and properties of created things with a common type, in the mathematical system of human passions.

I have provided a glimpse of the way in which the sciences will eventually adopt a constant procedure, and share a single unvarying method. In the second treatise I shall give some idea of this method which connects everything with our passions. It demonstrates in tabular form the operation of the passions in everything that exists, and this analogy will give to the most pedestrian subjects, such as anatomy, greater charm than the study of flowers offers today.

First among the many fortunate results which this method will yield will be the discovery of specific cures for all types of illness. Every ill has one or more antidotes drawn from the three kingdoms, but medicine has lacked a regular theory which would enable it to search systematically for unknown remedies, and it has therefore been obliged to stumble along for centuries, indeed for millennia, until cures are revealed by chance. This is why it has still not found natural absorbents for plague, rabies or gout: these will be discovered by means of the theory of the Four Movements. Thus medicine, like the other sciences, will emerge from its long infancy and, through the calculus of *counter-movements* achieve all of the knowledge which has for so long been refused it.

How reason is misled by the inexact sciences

Scientific knowledge and fame are desirable aims, no doubt, but inadequate unless they are accompanied by fortune. Understanding, prizes and other such illusory rewards do not lead to happiness, which consists primarily in the possession of wealth. This is why scholars, being poor, are generally unhappy in Civilisation. They will only enjoy the favours of fortune in the societary order which will succeed Civilisation: in the new social state all artists and scholars of real merit will become colossally rich. I shall explain later the way in which the merits of various works will be established by the annual vote of all the cantons in the world.

But besides showing the arts and the definitive sciences the brilliant career that is opening up for them, how can I find words powerful enough to express the storm that will strike those old idols of Civilisation, the uncertain sciences? Need I dress in black from head to foot to tell politicians and moralists that the fatal hour has struck, and that the great galleries of their works are about to sink into the void, that Plato, Seneca, Rousseau, Voltaire and every other

coryphaeus of ancient or modern inexactitude are all destined for the stream of oblivion? (I am not speaking of their literary productions, only the works concerned with politics and ethics.)

This collapse of libraries and reputations will not do any harm to the body of philosophy, given that its most famous writers are no longer alive and will not have to put up with the ignominy of their eclipse. And those of their disciples who are still living need only think of the fortune that awaits them, and of the pleasure of finally penetrating into the sanctuary of nature which their predecessors were unable to do.

Have they not always, indeed, foreseen the thunderbolt that threatened them? I find it foreshadowed in their most renowned works, from Socrates who hoped that enlightenment would one day descend, to Voltaire who, impatient to see it, cries, 'In how thick night nature remains veiled!'⁴ All admit the uselessness of their sciences and the misdirection of the reason they claimed to be perfecting. In the end, they all seem to agree with what their anthologist, Anacharsis, says: 'These libraries that claim to be treasuries of sublime knowledge are just a humiliating accumulation of error and contradiction.'⁵

This is only too true; throughout all the twenty-five centuries for which the moral and political sciences have existed, they have done nothing for the happiness of humanity. They have served only to increase human wickedness through progressive scientific schemes of reform, all of which have ended up perpetuating poverty and betrayal, merely reproducing the same scourges in different forms. After so many fruitless attempts to ameliorate the social order, philosophers are left with nothing but confusion and despair. For them, the problem of public happiness is an insurmountable obstacle: for is not the mere sight of the poor who fill our cities proof enough that these cascades of philosophical enlightenment are really only torrents of darkness?

Nonetheless, a universal unrest bears witness that the human race has not yet arrived at the point to which nature wishes it to come, and this unrest seems to presage some great upheaval which will change our destiny. Nations suffering from misery grasp enthusiastically at any political or religious dream which offers them a glimpse of well-

⁴ Voltaire, *Discours en vers sur l'Homme* Sixième discours: 'Sur la nature de l'homme', l. 10.

⁵ See Abbé Barthélemy, *Voyage du jeune Anacharsis en Grèce . . .* (1788).

being; they are like somebody who is desperately ill relying upon a miracle cure. It is as if nature were whispering in the ear of human-kind that there is happiness reserved for it, although the way to it is still unknown, and that a marvellous discovery will suddenly be made that will dispel the darkness of Civilisation.

For all its vaunted progress, reason has contributed nothing to happiness as long as it has not procured social man the fortune which is the object of all his wishes; by *social fortune* I mean a progressive degree of wealth which protects the least well-off from need and ensures them, as a minimum, the fate we currently call a *bourgeois competence*. Since it is undeniable that, after health, wealth is the principal source of happiness for social man, reason, which has been unable to provide us with relative wealth or degrees of comfort, has clearly achieved nothing by its pompous theories except pointless quantities of useless verbiage. And my own discovery would be no more than a new disgrace to reason if it were only to provide us with yet more science, without also giving us the wealth which must precede it.

The theory of the destinies will fulfil the desires of nations by ensuring that everybody's desire for at least a modicum of wealth is satisfied, a state of affairs which will only come about through the order of the progressive Series. As for the Civilisation from which we are about to emerge, I shall demonstrate that, far from being man's industrial destiny, it is merely a passing scourge with which most worlds are afflicted in their early stages; it is a temporary sickness of the human race, like teething in infancy. It has been prolonged *2,300 years too long*, because of the inattention or pride of the philosophers, who have disdained any study of association and attraction. And I shall show that savage, patriarchal, barbaric and civilised society are just thorny paths, ladders by which we ascend to a better social order, the order of progressive Series which is man's industrial destiny, outside which all the efforts of the best princes are quite incapable of remedying the miseries of peoples.

It is therefore in vain, philosophers, that you have amassed libraries in order to search for happiness if you have not also completely uprooted all social evils, by which I mean *industrial incoherence* which is the antithesis of God's intended designs. You complain that nature withholds knowledge of her laws; but if you have not been able to discover them so far, is it not about time you acknowl-

edged the inadequacy of your methods and set about looking for new ones? Either nature does not intend men to be happy, or nature rejects your methods because they have not been able to prise her secrets from her. Nature is not so hostile to the efforts of physicists as to yours! Because physicists study the laws of nature instead of trying to dictate them, whereas all you study is the art of stifling nature's own voice, stifling attraction which is the interpreter of nature, because all aspects of it lead to the formation of progressive Series. What a contrast there is, then, between your blunders and the great achievements of the definitive sciences. Every day you pile new errors on top of old ones, while every day we see the physical sciences advancing down the road to truth, and shedding over the modern age a lustre equal to the disgrace your visions have imprinted for ever upon the eighteenth century.

We are going to be witness to a spectacle which can only be seen once in each globe, the transition from incoherence to social combination. This is the most brilliant movement that can ever happen in the universe, and the anticipation of it shall be a consolation to the present generation for all its miseries. Every year of this period of metamorphosis will be worth centuries of ordinary existence, and will provide a host of such surprising events that it would be inappropriate for me to provide even a glimpse of them without proper preparation. This is why I have decided to postpone the theory of the combined order, or progressive Series, to the third treatise, and for the time being to put forward only the general results, such as the spontaneous accession of savages to industry, the espousal by Barbarians of the liberation of women and slaves, whose freedom is necessary for the formation of progressive Series, and the establishment of unity over the whole world in areas like language, weights and measures, typography and other functions.

As for the details of the societary order, and the pleasures it will bring us, I must, I repeat, be careful how much of these I announce to civilised people. Demoralised by constant misery and by philosophical prejudices, they have come to believe that God has destined them to suffering, or at best to only moderate happiness; they will not be able to get used immediately to the idea of the well-being in store for them, and they will become too excited if, without any precautions, they are shown all the delights they will so soon be able to enjoy, as it will take scarcely two years to organise each

societary canton, and scarcely six years to complete the organisation of the entire globe, making maximum allowance for possible delays.

The combined order will from the outset be as brilliant as it has been long deferred. Greece, in the century of Solon, was already in a position to undertake it, having a degree of luxury sufficient to proceed to this form of organisation; today, however, our capacity for luxury and refinement is at least double what it was among the Athenians (who had no sprung carriages, no linen, cotton or silk, no sugar or other produce of America and the Orient, nor the compass, telescope and other modern scientific inventions: it is therefore no exaggeration when I say that our resources of pleasure and luxury are at least twice as great). We shall commence the combined order with all the more intensity, and we shall then be able to gather the fruits of eighteenth-century progress in the physical sciences, successes which hitherto have been unproductive. Throughout Civilisation our scientific marvels have been catastrophic rather than conducive to happiness because by augmenting the means of pleasure they have augmented the privations of the great number who lacked the barest necessities; they have added very little except some more variety to the pleasures of the great, who were already surfeited, and they have encouraged more and more corruption by multiplying the rewards available to cupidity.

Hitherto the improvements the sciences have made in luxury have operated to the profit of the dishonest, who are more likely to become rich in barbaric and civilised society than truthful men. This strange fact leads us to opt for one of two possible interpretations: either God or Civilisation is maleficent. Only the latter can be rationally entertained, as it is not possible to suppose God to be maleficent; although indeed he would be if he had condemned us to vegetate for ever in the disastrous state of Civilisation.

Instead of looking at the problem in this light, the philosophers have tried to evade the question of human wickedness, the problem that leads us to question either Civilisation or God. Together, they shared a bastard opinion, atheism, which by assuming the absence of a God, releases thinkers from any obligation to seek out his views, and authorises them to put forward their own capricious and incompatible theories as arbiters of good and evil. Atheism is a very convenient opinion for those who are morally and politically ignorant, and those who have been called strong-minded for their profession

of atheism have actually thereby shown themselves to be mentally weak. Fearing failure in their attempts to discover God's intentions for the social order, they preferred to deny the existence of God, and hold up as perfect the civilised order which in secret they detested and whose appearance disorients them to the point where they doubt Providence.

It is not only the philosophers who are at fault here. While it is absurd not to believe in God, it is equally absurd to half-believe in him, to think that his providence is only partial, that he has neglected to provide for our most urgent needs, such as a social order designed to make us happy. When one considers the marvels of our industry, such as tall ships, and many other wonders which appear premature in relation to our political infancy, how can one believe that the God who has so liberally bestowed so much sublime knowledge would want to refuse us knowledge of the social art, without which all the others are worthless? Would God not indeed be blameworthy and illogical if he had initiated us into so many noble sciences without ever intending them to do anything except produce a disgusting and vicious society such as Civilisation?

General predispositions of Civilised Man

When I reveal the invention which will deliver the human race from civilised chaos, barbarism and savagery, ensure it more happiness than it ever dared dream of and open up the realm of nature's mysteries from which it thought it was for ever excluded, the multitude will be bound to accuse me of charlatanism and wise men will think they are being restrained in regarding me merely as a visionary. Without being sidetracked by such minor attacks, which all discoverers have to expect, I shall try to predispose the reader to be impartial.

Why were the most famous discoverers, like Galileo, Columbus and many others, persecuted or ridiculed before they were listened to? For two main reasons, general adversity and scientific pride.

1. *General Adversity.* If an invention brings with it a promise of happiness, people are afraid to accede to such an improbable hope of good. The tendency is to reject a viewpoint which will rearouse smouldering desires and make present sufferings feel harsher in contrast with promises of a brilliant future. Thus when a poor man

unexpectedly inherits a fortune he refuses to believe the first announcement of it, dismisses the bearer of the happy news and accuses him of mocking his poverty.

This is the first obstacle I shall encounter when I announce to the human race that they are all about to pass into a state of great happiness, all hope of which has been lost during five millennia of seemingly irremediable social misery. I would find more of a welcome if I proclaimed only moderate well-being, which is in fact why I have decided to give only a severely curtailed picture of the happiness to come. When its full extent becomes known, people will be amazed that I had the patience to delay and defer publication, and that I could remain so contained and write so coolly about the events to come which would arouse so much enthusiasm.

2. *Scientific Pride* will be the second obstacle I shall have to fight. Every really brilliant invention arouses jealousy in those who might have thought of it themselves. There is indignation when an unknown is suddenly raised by chance to the pinnacle of fame; they do not easily forgive a contemporary for penetrating mysteries that anybody else could have penetrated before him, nor for eclipsing all accepted knowledge at a stroke, and leaving the most illustrious scientists and thinkers far behind. Such success becomes an affront to the existing generation. The benefits the discovery will bring are forgotten in the confusion into which it throws the century that failed to make it; and rather than think rationally about it, everybody wants to avenge his wounded vanity. That is why they ridicule the author of a brilliant discovery, and persecute him, before they have examined and assessed it.

A Newton suffers little from this sort of jealousy because his calculations are so complex that the mass of scientists cannot claim to understand them; but a Columbus is violently attacked because the idea of looking for a new continent is so simple that anybody might have thought of it. Then they try to stand in the way of the inventor and prevent him from trying out his ideas. Let me give an example to illustrate the general ill-will that civilised man shows towards discoverers.

An ignorant pope threw all the thunderbolts of the Church and public opinion in the path of Columbus, and yet was it not in his interest, more than any other's, to see Columbus' plan succeed? There is no doubt that it was, for no sooner was America discovered

than the pontiff distributed empires in the new world, and found it highly convenient to profit from a discovery the mere idea of which had aroused his utter wrath. This illogicality in the head of the Church is typical of all men: their prejudices and vanity blind them to their self-interest. If he had thought rationally he would have realised that the Holy See, being able at that period to distribute temporal sovereignty over unknown lands and bring them within its religious empire, had every interest in encouraging the search for a new continent. But the pope and his council were too vain to think rationally. This kind of small-mindedness is common to all centuries and all individuals. It is a difficulty that dogs every inventor, who must expect to be persecuted in proportion to the magnificence of his discovery, particularly if he is a complete unknown, with no earlier work on the knowledge to which chance has provided him with the key to recommend him.

[If I were dealing with an impartial century which sincerely attempted to plumb the mysteries of nature it would be easy to demonstrate that the Newtonians had only half-explained the laws of the branch of movement they dealt with, *the sidereal*.⁶

Indeed they would have nothing to say in answer to questions about the distributive system of the stars; their most learned successor, Laplace, could not begin to solve the following problems:

What are the rules governing sidereal arrangement, the ranks and positions assigned to the planets?

Why is Mercury the first?

Why is Herschel,⁷ which is so far from the sun, smaller than Saturn? And should Jupiter not be closer to the centre?

What causes the different degrees of eccentricity of their orbits?

What are the rules governing accolade and conjugation?

Why do some planets both behave as conjugate moons and obey the pivotal orbit, like the satellites of Jupiter, Saturn and Herschel?

⁶ Passages in square brackets were added in the 1841 edition. See the translator's introduction.

⁷ I.e. Uranus.

Why do others, like Venus, Mars, etc., move in a free orbit?

Why does Herschel have eight moons when it is sixteen times smaller than Jupiter, which only has four? Ought not the giant Jupiter to have the larger number of moons? In terms of size, it could control sixteen more than Herschel. This distribution runs curiously contrary to the theorem of the direct attraction of masses.

Given this theorem, why does Jupiter, with its huge mass, not attract and join with the four small planets, Juno, Ceres, Pallas and Vesta, which are so close to it? If it joined up with them it would still only have eight moons, like the sixteen-times-smaller Herschel; it would still be a very small burden to bear.

Why does Saturn have rings of light and Jupiter not, even though Saturn receives more light from its seven moons than Jupiter does from its four?

Why does the Earth have a moon and not Venus?

Why does our moon, Phoebe, not have an atmosphere as Venus has and we have?

What is the functional difference between the conjugate planets or satellites, like Phoebe, the conjugant or moon-owning planets, like the Earth and Jupiter, and the isolated planets like Venus, Mars, Mercury and Vesta?

What changes has the distributive system of the planets undergone, and what changes will it undergo in the future?

What are the unknown planets? Where are they positioned? Where should we look for them? What size are they, and what are they for?

Faced with twenty pages of similar questions our scholars will have nothing to say; they thus have no idea about *distributive* questions, and are ignorant of the greater part of the laws of sidereal motion which they flatter themselves they have explained.

Whereas I who, since my discoveries in 1814, have pertinent answers to all these questions, have surely completed the task that the Newtonians began and left unfinished.

The complete understanding of sidereal theory still only accounts for one branch of the laws of Universal Movement. Among others, we still require an explanation of the branch dealing with Passionate or Social Movement, on which depends the unitary organisation of the human race, its advent to Social Destiny; and the only way to discover this is by studying the laws of Movement, of which the Newtonians have grasped a mere fragment, and that one which is of little use for the pursuit of happiness.

Having produced this general theory of Movement, I would need the support of a great name to ensure its analysis and acceptance. If it were Newton or one of his rivals or successors, like Leibniz or Laplace, who announced the *Theory of Passionate Attraction*, there would be no problems; everybody would see from the title itself that it was a perfectly natural extension of his discoveries in the realm of Material Attraction, a consequence of the Unity of the universe by virtue of which the whole principle of material harmony must be applicable to the passionate or social theory. As soon as the announcement was made by a Newton, or by a figure of comparable reputation, all the critics would applaud the inventor, singing the praises of his achievement before it was even debated. But when the discovery is the work of an unknown, a provincial, a scientific pariah, one of those intruders who, like Piron,⁸ has made the mistake of not even being an academicien, it is bound to run up against all the anathemas of the cabal.]

Christopher Columbus, in the example I gave above, was ridiculed, denounced and excommunicated for seven years for proclaiming the existence of a new continental world; should I not expect the same disgraces for proclaiming a new social world? One cannot stand out against public opinion with impunity, and the reigning philosophy of the nineteenth century will raise more prejudiced objections against me than were brought against Columbus in the fourteenth century by superstition. Yet if he found in Ferdinand and Isabella sovereigns who were wiser and less prejudiced than all the great minds of their century, may I not also count upon the support of a sovereign who is more clear-sighted than his

⁸ Alexis Piron (1689-1773), poet and dramatist of provincial origin, best known for his caustic wit and epigrams, made a number of enemies who, after his election to the Académie française, persuaded Louis XV not to ratify the decision. His most famous line was that despite his literary talent he was *pas même académicien*.

contemporaries? And while the sophists of the nineteenth century repeat, with those of the fourteenth, *that there is nothing left to be discovered*, may not one potentate perhaps wish to make the same trial as the monarchs of Castille? They did not risk much in sending out a ship on the off-chance that it might discover a new world and bring them an empire. A nineteenth-century sovereign might similarly say, 'Let us set aside a square league of land to try out agricultural association; it is little enough to risk for the chance of raising mankind out of social chaos, ascending to the throne of universal unity and passing the sceptre of the world to our descendants in perpetuity.'

By indicating the prejudices that general adversity and scientific pride will bring to bear against me, I hope to have warned the reader against the sarcasm of the multitude who make categorical assertions about matters on which they are ignorant and who respond to reason with jokes and puns, the mania for which has now reached all classes and made mockery a widespread habit. When the proofs of my discovery are available and the moment visibly approaches for its fruits to be enjoyed, when universal unity is poised to rise above the ruins of barbarism and Civilisation, the critics will rapidly switch from contempt to total enthusiasm. They will want to make a demi-god of the inventor, and will debase them as much by this excess of adulation as earlier they did with their thoughtless mockery.

There is also a very small number of impartial men. I admire their distrust and indeed I hope to arouse it by asking them to suspend their judgement until I've dealt with the mechanism of the progressive Series. The first two treatises will not be concerned with this issue, their only aim being to prepare the way, and to familiarise the human mind with the excess of happiness in store.

Plan

In these two treatises, I shall talk about the following topics:

What are the destinies? What different branches make up the whole system? What indications and methods did the human mind need in order to arrive at the discovery of the general system of the destinies?

I shall not separate these questions, as it would be hard for me to treat them in isolation. There is a lot of repetition in this book, and perhaps there ought to be more, to sustain attention to a subject so new and so opposed to all the philosophical prejudices the world is imbued with.

I shall divide this prospectus into three parts: *Exposition*, *Descriptions* and *Confirmation*.

1. The *Exposition* will cover some of the branches of the General Destinies: a subject as elevated and extensive as this will not interest the majority of readers, but it will be interspersed with enough curious detail to compensate for some dry passages. This first part is therefore addressed *to the curious*, to those studious men who are not afraid of encountering and overcoming a few obstacles in order to penetrate profound mysteries; they will be agreeably surprised to find expositions in this first part of such various subjects as the origin of societies, their future succession, and the material and social revolutions of our globe and of other worlds.

2. The *Descriptions* will make known some details about private or domestic destinies in the combined order. They will provide some insight into its pleasures, addressed particularly, in this connection, *to the Voluptuous* or Sybarites. After this foretaste of the

delights of the combined order, they will understand how deeply the human race has been misled by the philosophers who have hidden the roads to this sort of happiness by their obstinate hostility to passionate attraction and their desire to suppress or stifle it instead of making a proper study of it.

3. The *Confirmation* will be made up of demonstrations of the falsity of current knowledge. I shall expound the systematic blunders of civilised man, especially the most recent one, which also exclusively governs their politics, namely the *Commercial Spirit*. I shall indicate the increased empiricism of the inexact sciences and the revolutions which bring us more and more under their auspices. This third part is addressed *to the critics*: they will recognise that the philosophers, despite their apparent demoralisation, have a greater and more mystificatory influence on the social body than ever, and that the mercantile systems which are the last resort of these sophists are the most inept idea ever and, as such, an appropriate conclusion to civilised absurdities.

By arranging it thus, I think I have adapted the prospectus to suit the tastes of the different classes of readers, all of whom can be placed in one of the three categories of *Curious*, *Voluptuous* or *Critical*.

But I ask them all to remember that in a prospectus I cannot linger over demonstrations, and that I do not expect to be believed simply by announcing so many marvellous events and incomprehensible results: all I am trying to do is to arouse curiosity in the treatises that follow, which will contain the theory demonstrating the truth of all this. This knowledge is all the more wonderful because it is so easy for anybody to learn it; it all stems from a simple calculus about *agricultural association, in the form of progressive Series*. Such was the modest seed of this most brilliant of discoveries; just as great rivers often have their source in humble springs, or avalanches that crush villages start off as the lightest snowflake.

[Given that the most exact science, mathematics, where a thousand treatises have competed for theoretical perfection, still presents all students with difficulties and obscurities that force them to read each text a number of times and to take lessons from an expert, it must be expected that the study of Passionate Attraction will pose many more obstacles, as it is a science which is still at its rudimen-

tary stage, at its dawn, and also because the following exposition necessarily suffers from three imperfections:

1. It is announced in the form of a prospectus, in terms of vague preliminary ideas, which – even if they were perfectly clear – would be insufficient to initiate readers, since I am only providing a prelude to each subject.
2. It has been drawn up by a man unfamiliar with the art of writing, who has not had the benefit of critical advice about the extent of the detail it would be appropriate to provide on each branch of the subject.
3. It is restricted to the elementary and incomplete understanding the author was able to acquire between 1799 and 1807, which has subsequently been greatly enhanced.

Hampered by these obstacles, I could hardly have initiated and satisfied readers in 1807, when they will still have need of further lessons when I publish the *Treatise* in 1821, when the wits and plagiarists will add their commentaries to it.

Looking at this prospectus now, with the advantage of ten years' hindsight, I think, given the progress the science has made, that it would need a commentary substantially longer than the volume itself. So be patient until 1821!

First Part

Exposition of some branches of the general destinies

Argument

Foreseeing the criticism of dryness that may be levelled at this first part, I have already warned that it is designed for scholarly readers, not for the frivolous. Those who have heard stories about the pleasures of the combined order may have expected to find them depicted here, to see the progressive Series in action and read nothing but seductive details about their domestic lives, the appetising composition of their feasts, the variety of their loves, festivals, entertainments, adventures, travels, etc., and about the voluptuous refinements the new order will introduce into the most insipid tasks.

Some people who have trembled with impatience at the description of these pleasures, unknown within Civilisation, might have liked to insist on having a complete picture, but a balanced approach requires that before I get down to the fine detail I first explain the General Destinies of the planet.

Consequently I shall deal with a period of *80,000 years*, encompassing the entire vegetal life of the globe. I shall speak about the various creations which will follow on from that whose fruits we now see, the next one of which will begin in four centuries. I shall explain the physical changes this globe will undergo during the eighty thousand years of vegetation, seventy thousand of which will see the North Pole under full cultivation because of the shining

ring of light, or northern crown, which will appear after two centuries of combined order.

At first, as I have said, the way will be thorny, but I would be conceding too much to my critics if I proceeded without any method just to satisfy the curious; and although all I provide here are insights without theories, it is at least appropriate that they should be concerned first with the globe as a whole before we consider the destiny of individuals. In the course of this work various tables will be found, the nomenclature in which may seem inappropriate or badly chosen, as I do not have a very good command of the French language. You must therefore pay more attention to the ideas than to the words, on the choice of which I confess my inadequacy. In this connection, I shall adopt more correct nomenclature when it is communicated to me.

On exception

I must begin with this chapter in order to spare the reader from raising an infinitude of objections later on. The calculi on attraction and Social Movement are all subject to the exception of an eighth or a ninth: this is always to be understood, even when I do not mention it. For instance, if I say as a general thesis, *civilised man is very miserable*, this means that seven-eighths, or eight-ninths of them are reduced to a state of misery and privation, and that only one-eighth escapes the general misfortune and enjoys a lot that can be envied.*

If I add that the happiness enjoyed by this small minority of civilised people is all the more tiresome for the multitude because most of those favoured by fortune deserve it least, this statement, too, makes an exception of an eighth or a ninth: and one time out of eight you will see somebody who deserves their good fortune; this shadow of equity, however, only serves to confirm the system—

* It is surely necessary for God to elevate a few individuals to the state of well-being he denies to the great majority, and thereby to show us glimpses of the happiness of which we are generally deprived; without this precaution the inhabitants of civilisation would be unaware of their misery: the sight of somebody else's wealth is the only stimulus capable of embittering scholars and thinkers, most of whom are poor, and inciting them to look for a new social order capable of providing civilised man with the well-being he has been deprived of.

atic injustice with which wealth is distributed in the civilised order.

I conclude that the exception of an eighth or a ninth which can be applied to all my assertions only serves to confirm them; there is thus no point in my mentioning the exception in every thesis, nor in the reader raising any arguments which hinge on the points I have just made. In order to make it easier to remember this, I shall repeat the comment more than once.

The exception is not unalterably fixed at an eighth or a ninth; it may vary to some extent on either side, but the eighth and ninth are the commonest ones, and thus the ones used in the general calculus.

General ideas about the destinies

(The next five preliminary chapters must be read at least twice, and preferably three times, if you want fully to understand the chapters that follow, which will not prove difficult once the first five have been mastered.)

Definition and division

The destinies are the past, present and future results of God's mathematical laws of universal movement.

Universal movement is divided into four main branches: *social*, *animal*, *organic* and *material*.

1. *Social Movement*: this theory explains the laws by which God governs the ordering and succession of the different social mechanisms in all the inhabited globes.
2. *Animal movement*: this theory explains the laws by which God distributes the passions and instincts of all created beings, past and future, in the various globes.
3. *Organic movement*: this theory explains the laws by which God distributes properties, such as form, colour, smell, etc., to all created or future substances in the various globes.
4. *Material movement*: this theory, which has already been explained by modern geometricians, has taught us the laws by which God governs the gravitation of matter on the various globes.

There is no effect of movement which is not included in one or other of these four divisions; together they make up universal move-

ment of which we *only know about the fourth branch, material movement*. Even this has as yet only been partially explained, as the geometricians, in pointing out the laws of the existing order of the stars, fail to take account of the changes the vortices of stars underwent a hundred thousand years ago, and the changes they may undergo in a hundred thousand years' time. They are thus unable to determine the past and future revolutions of the universe. The calculations for these, which I shall bring within everybody's reach, are part of the theory of material movement, which can now be seen to have been only partially worked out.

Hierarchy of the four movements

I should devote a chapter to this question, but as it would not be within the grasp of the majority of readers, I shall restrict myself to saying something about it in the note below.^b The note may be

^b *The four movements are dependent on two things.*

First. The laws of the four movements are co-ordinated with mathematics; without this dependence there would be no harmony in nature, and God would be unjust. In fact:

Nature is composed of three eternal, uncreated and indestructible principles.

1. *God or Spirit*, active, motive principle.
2. *Matter*, the passive, moved principle.
3. *Justice or Mathematics*, the principle governing movement.

For harmony to be established between the three principles God must be in accord with mathematics as he moves or modifies matter; otherwise he would appear arbitrary in his own eyes as well as ours, not being in agreement with a fixed, independent principle of justice. However, by subordinating himself to mathematical rules he is unable to change, God creates an accord which is both to his glory and in his interest. *To his glory* because he therefore rules the universe equitably rather than arbitrarily, so that matter is moved by laws that are not subject to change. *In his interest* because the accord with mathematics provides him with a means of obtaining the greatest amount of effect from any movement with the smallest outlay of energy.

We already know that the two movements, the material and the organic, are in accord with geometry, and that all animate or inanimate bodies are constructed, moved, or modified in accordance with its laws. So two of the four movements are co-ordinated with natural justice and are independent of God. It remained to be shown that the two other movements, the animal and the social, the field of activity of the passions, follow the same rule, and that all passions, even the most odious ones, produce effects in men and animals which are geometrically governed by God. For instance:

The properties of *friendship* are modelled on those of *the circle*.

The properties of *love* are modelled on those of *the ellipse*.

skipped, as it is not necessary to read it to understand what follows, and it will only be of interest to a small number of people.

Social movement

We have already seen how the theory of Social Movement determines the ordering and succession of all the different social mechanisms that can be organised in all the globes, and that it includes past, present and future. Wits may smile ironically at this, and say,

The properties of *paternity* are modelled on those of *the parabola*.

The properties of *ambition* are modelled on those of *the hyperbola*.

And the collective properties of these four passions are modelled on those of *the cycloid*.

Each geometrical theorem thus serves as the pattern for some passion of man or the animals, and this passion invariably retains its relations with the theorem which governs its creation. The passionate series or grouped series are based on the properties and order of geometric series, as in Note A.

Second dependence The social movement is the pattern for the three others. The animal, organic and material movements are co-ordinated with the social movement, which is primary. This means that the properties of an animal, a vegetable, a mineral, or even a vortex of stars represent an effect of the human passions in the social order, and that everything, from atoms to stars, is an image of the properties of the human passions. For instance:

The groups of *stars in the milky way* represent the properties of *friendship*.

The groups of *solar planets* represent the properties of *love*.

The groups of *planetary satellites* represent the properties of *paternity*.

The groups of *suns or fixed stars* represent the properties of *ambition*.

This means that our passions, which have been treated so disparagingly by the philosophers, actually play the most important part, after God, in the movement of the universe. After God, they are the most noble things in the universe, because it was his wish that the whole universe should be organised in the image of the effects they produce in the social movement.

It follows from this that if a globe achieves an understanding of the laws of social movement, it simultaneously discovers the laws of the other movements, because they are in all respects its hieroglyphs. Thus, if we did not yet understand the laws of material movement which modern geometers have in fact established, we could now discover them by their analogy with the laws of social movement, which I have discovered, and which provide the key to the whole system of the other three movements. It is unfortunate for the human race that scholars began their studies at the point where they should have ended them, with the laws of material movement, as these are the most difficult to establish, and the knowledge of them does not make understanding the other three classes of laws any easier.

This is a very inadequate note, admittedly, but it would not be appropriate to go into more detail in an outline sketch of this kind.

'So you are going to tell us about what goes on in other worlds, in the Sun, the Moon, Jupiter, Sirius, the Milky Way and all the other stars!' Yes, indeed I am, and furthermore tell you what has happened there in the past and what will happen there in the centuries to come. The destinies cannot be read only in part; one cannot establish the destinies of one world without possessing a calculus which reveals the destinies of them all.

You may think that a knowledge of the fate of other globes is no concern of yours, but it will be demonstrated by the laws of movement that your souls will traverse these globes for eternity, and that the eternal bliss which religions give you cause to hope for will depend on the well-being of the other globes in which your souls will rejoin the material world after having spent 80,000 years on the one we currently inhabit.

You will therefore come to know the social mechanisms that reign on the other stars, the fortunate or unfortunate revolutions to which their inhabitants are subject. You will learn that our little globe has, for the last five or six thousand years, been in the most wretched state a world can find itself in. But the calculus which will reveal the happiness enjoyed by people on other stars will also give you the means of introducing on your own globe a state of happiness akin to that of more fortunate worlds.

I move on now to an outline of the social revolutions which our own has to undergo.

Phases and periods of the social order in the third planet namely the earth

Here you will learn an extremely important truth, namely that the ages of happiness last seven times longer than the ages of unhappiness, like the one we have been living in for several thousand years. This might seem irrelevant to anybody who is alive in a period of unhappiness, but the theory of Social Movement will show that in future ages your souls will participate in some way in the fate of the living. For 70,000 years, therefore, you will share in the happiness which is in store for the globe; so you should take an interest in this outline of the future revolutions which your planet will undergo.

The human race will continue to exist for approximately 80,000 years. This number is estimated *to within one-eighth*, like all the calculations about Social Movement. This 80,000-year social process is divided into four phases, and subdivided into thirty-two periods. These I shall tabulate: they need to be studied carefully, fully understood and retained in the memory.

Phases

There are: Two phases of ascending vibration or gradation.
Two phases of descending vibration or degradation.

Ascending vibration

First phase

Infancy or ascending incoherence	1/16	5,000 years
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Second phase		
Growth or ascending combination	7/16	35,000 years
<i>Descending vibration</i>		
Third phase		
Decline or descending combination	7/16	35,000 years
Fourth phase		
Decrepitude or descending incoherence	1/16	5,000 years
Total		80,000 years

The two phases of *incoherence* or social discord comprise the periods of unhappiness.

The two phases of *combination* or social unity comprise the ages of happiness, which will last for seven times as long as the ages of unhappiness.

From this outline it can be seen that the periods of suffering, for the human race as for individuals, are at the two extremes.

We are in the first phase, in the age of *ascending incoherence* which precedes arrival at the destinies. That is why we have been excessively unhappy for five or six thousand years, the history of which has been chronicled. Hardly seven thousand years have elapsed since the creation of men, and for all that time we have gone from one torment to the next.

The immensity of our suffering can only be assessed when one understands the excess of happiness in store for us, to which state we shall rapidly pass, thanks to the discovery of the laws of movement. We shall then be in the second phase, *ascending combination*.

The two phases of incoherence, although very short, each contain seven Social Periods, in all:

14 periods of incoherence

The two phases of combination, although very long, each contain only nine Social Periods, in all:

18 periods of combination

Total: 32 periods or societies

There is a total of thirty-two possible periods or societies, not counting the overlaps.

Overleaf is a diagram of these thirty-two periods. It may seem exhausting to commit them to memory, but is there any area of knowledge which does not require some preliminary study? Why should the calculus of the destinies not have its thorny parts?

It is important to read and re-read this diagram in order not to have to turn back to it every time I speak of the various phases and periods.

Those who are unwilling to devote a quarter of an hour to studying these tables and comparing the four phases and the thirty-two social metamorphoses with the epochs of the eighteen creations and the northern crown should shut the book rather than continue reading something which will constantly present them with obscurities, although to anybody who has studied these tables of Social Movement they will be quite intelligible.

Looking at the tables one is first of all struck by the small-mindedness of the philosophers who argue that Civilisation is the final stage of social destiny, whereas it is only the *fifth* of the thirty-two possible societies, and one of the most wretched of the ten periods of unhappiness, which are:

The 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th and 6th in the phase of infancy.

The 31st, 30th, 29th, 28th and 27th in the phase of decrepitude.

I call these periods of unhappiness because there is no happiness except in those whose mechanism is *formed into grouped Series and not into isolated households.*

The periods 1 and 32, 7 and 26 are formed into Series, but of a hybrid sort. The seventh and twenty-sixth are embryonic forms of grouped Series, organised in instances where the human race lacks the calculus of association and only discovers the seeds of the idea. These hybrid Series are nonetheless very happy: I shall give some account of them in the second part, which will deal with the *progressive household.*

The human race is about to raise itself to the eighth social period (*Simple Combined Series*) which will become established over the whole globe, and which will last at least four hundred years before it will be possible to pass on to the ninth. This will only be organised with the help of new creations and of the northern crown, which I shall talk about later.

During its first phase, the Social Movement looks rather like a man retreating a few steps when he comes to a ditch so that he will be better able to jump over it: I have represented this on the diagram by the words *retreat*, *run-up* and *leap*. It is retreat to fall from the first period, which is happy, to the fourth, which is the most unhappy; but it is there that the new force, *large-scale agricultural and manufacturing industry*, is acquired, which by increasing during the run-up periods 5, 6 and 7 finally gives the human race the means of leaping from chaos into harmony.

The thirty-two societies should not be counted as sixteen, even though they are recreated in reverse order in the two latter phases, because in their new form they undergo major changes. For example when Civilisation is recreated, at the decline of the world, it will be as peaceful as it is turbulent today when it has all the impetuosity of youth. This latter-day Civilisation will be tempered by the knowledge of lost happiness and by the sorrow of being unable to recreate progressive Series. The mechanism of these will be shackled, disorganised and dissolved by the eighteenth and last creation, which will be as pernicious as the one we see around us today.

The first phase, or infancy, is the only one whose duration is not fixed, and whose course is irregular: it ought to be limited to five thousand years, but God having given us freewill cannot prevent some globes from being led astray by the inexact sciences and the widespread prejudices they induce against nature and attraction. The globes that are encrusted with philosophy may persist in their blindness for a long time, believing themselves skilled in the social art, when in fact they know only how to produce revolutions, poverty, dishonesty and carnage. They are so stubborn in their pride, and reason is so little raised against the false savants, that it is no wonder disorder is perpetuated; and where can you find more appalling disorder than that which reigns on this globe? Half the earth is invaded by ferocious or wild beasts, while three-quarters of the half under cultivation is occupied by headsmen or barbarians who enslave the farmers and the women and who are, in every respect, an affront to reason. There thus remains an eighth of the globe given over to those accomplished brigands, civilised people, who boast of perfection

while at the same time increasing poverty and corruption to the highest degree; could any worse disorder be found on any other globe? And when one sees nations welcome the philosophy which has caused so much political chaos, is it surprising that the human race is several thousand years behind in its social progress, that it has spent 7,000 years in an infancy which ought scarcely to last 5,000, and that it has only reached the fifth of the seven periods of social infancy, without even reaching the sixth in which it would have found at least a shadow of well-being?

The Social Movement will progress uninterruptedly in the two ages of *ascending* and *descending combination* which will soon begin, and which will take *about 70,000 years*. In the course of this long age of happiness, the sixteen social metamorphoses or changes of period will be determined by the new creations which will regularly follow on from each other, and by providing new products in the three reigns will cause consequent modifications in social relations. These changes, however, will be merely variations of pleasure, never disastrous revolutions, except for the transition from the twenty-fourth to the twenty-fifth period, which will bring about a rapid decline and announce the decrepitude of the globe.

For the rest, just as a child of between six and seven years old has no need to worry about the infirmities which will afflict him as he approaches the age of eighty, so we need think of nothing but our approaching happiness, a happiness of which the world has never been so much in need.

Notice

On subversive anterior creation, designed for the use of the first phase and of the eighth period which opens the second phase.

The creation whose results we see around us is the first of the eighteen which must take place during the social progress of the human race. I am speaking here only of the creation of the substances of the three reigns, and not of the creation of the globe itself.

The earth took about 450 years to engender the productions of the three reigns on the old world. The creations of America only happened later, and took place on a different level, causing large-scale upheavals in each continent.

Creation is a pleasure for God in itself, and it is in his interest to prolong it. As the period of human conception, gestation and childbirth lasts for nine months, God must have taken a proportional amount of time to create the three reigns: the theory assesses the time as the one hundred and ninety-second part of the whole course of social existence, which gives approximately 450 years as the duration of the first creation.

All creation works by the conjunction of the northern or boreal fluid, which is male, with the southern fluid, which is female.^c A planet is a being which has two souls and two sexes, and which procreates like animal or vegetable beings by the meeting of the two generative substances. The process is the same throughout nature, apart from a few variations, for planets like plants unite both sexes in one individual.

To think that the earth will not produce new creations, and that it is restricted to those we see around us, would be like thinking that a woman who has had one child cannot have a second or a third or a tenth. The earth too can bring forth a succession of creations, but the sixteen harmonic creations will be as easy for it as the two subversive ones, the first and the eighteenth, were and will be exhaustingly difficult.

On each globe the first and last creations are organised in relation to a system which is contrary to that governing the intermediate creations, as a result of which they produce a great number of harmful things and very few useful ones. The opposite is the case in all intermediate or harmonic creations, which provide an abundance of brilliant or useful creatures, then a very small number – an eighth – of useless ones, and nothing harmful at all.

So the first creation, the results of which we see around us, filled land and sea with an immense quantity of harmful animals. Anyone who believes in demons must surely believe that hell presided over this creation when they see Moloch and Belial incarnate in the guise of tigers or apes. And what could hell in its fury invent that would be worse than rattle-snakes, bed-bugs, the legions of insects and reptiles, sea-monsters, poisons, plague, rabies, leprosy, venereal dis-

^c [Planets can copulate: 1st with themselves by means of the north and south poles, like plants; 2nd with another planet by means of emissions from opposite poles; 3rd with an intermediary: the Tuberose is engendered from three aromas: Earth-South, Herschel-North and Sun-South.]

ease, gout and all the deadly poisons thought up to torment man and turn this globe into a foretaste of hell? I have already pointed out in an earlier note (in the section on the 'hierarchy of the Four Movements') the causes of the evil system that governed the first creation. I said there *'that the effects of the three movements, animal, organic and material, represent the operation of human passions in the social order'*. So because the first creation had to set the scene for the seven periods of human infancy, which is what it was created for, God had to use it to depict, by means of horrible creatures, the terrible results that our passions would produce during those seven periods. And as a few virtues would have to prevail during the first and seventh periods, God had to depict them by creating some useful or graceful creatures, though there are very few of them in the three reigns of this truly demonic creation. We shall see below what sort of creatures future creations will produce in the seas and on land; at present we scarcely know how to make use of what little good the first creation has provided, to prove which I shall take the cases of four quadrupeds, the vicuña, the reindeer, the zebra and the beaver. We are deprived of the first two by our incompetence, our malice and our dishonesty, obstacles which prevent us raising herds of reindeer or vicuña in all the high mountain ranges capable of sustaining these animals. Other social vices deprive us of the beaver, whose wool is no less valuable than the vicuña's, and the zebra which is as valuable as the horse in terms of its speed, strength and beauty. Both our stables and our social customs are governed by a brusqueness and disharmony which stand in the way of the procedures necessary for the domestication of these animals. In the eighth period, and even indeed in the seventh, we shall see quaggas and zebras in the domestic state just as we now see horses and donkeys; beavers will build their dams and establish their republics in the most populous of cantons, flocks of vicuña will be as common in the mountains as flocks of sheep are now, and any number of other animals, such as ostriches, fallow-deer, jerboa, etc., will become friendly with man when they find him enticing enough to remain near him, which will never happen in the civilised order. This creation, which is already wretched and pernicious enough, is doubly wretched for us who, because of social disharmony, are deprived of most of the good things the three reigns could offer us.

The new creations cannot begin before the human race has organised the eighth social period; until then, for as long as the

first seven societies endure, we shall not see the second creation commence.

Yet the earth is in violent upheaval with the need to create. This can be seen from the frequent appearances of the aurora borealis, which are a symptom of the planet's being in rut, a useless effusion of creative fluid, which cannot conjoin with the southern fluid as long as the human race has not carried out its preparations, and these can only be put into effect by the eighth society when it has been established. First the numbers of the human race will have to be increased to a minimum of two thousand million, which will take at least a century, because women are much less fertile in the combined order than they are in Civilisation. There household life makes them procreate legions of children; poverty devours a third of these, and another third is carried off by the numerous illnesses children succumb to in the incoherent order; it would be far better to produce fewer and keep them, but this is impossible for civilised people, which is why they cannot cultivate the globe, and why, despite their frightening rate of pullulation, there are only enough of them to deal with the land they presently occupy.

When the two thousand million inhabitants have cultivated the globe as far as the sixty-fifth parallel, they will see the formation of the northern crown, which I shall speak about below, which will bring light and heat to the glacial arctic regions. With this new land brought into cultivation the human race will be able to achieve its full complement of three thousand million. Then both continents will be fully cultivated, and there will no longer be any obstacle to the harmonic creations, the first of which will begin about four centuries after the establishment of the combined order.

Northern crown

This chapter is interesting rather than necessary; it may be skipped, and the reader may go on to the following sections, in which I deal with periods 2, 3, 4 and 5, and which contain details more readily accessible to the general reader.

When the human race has extended the cultivation of the globe beyond sixty degrees north, the planet's temperature will be less extreme and generally much more pleasant; the rutting will become more active, the aurora borealis will occur more frequently, will be fixed over the pole and will broaden out into a ring or crown. The

fluid, which at the moment only emits light, will acquire an additional characteristic and distribute heat as well as light.

The crown will be large enough for some point always to be in contact with the sun, whose rays will be necessary to ignite the outside edge of the ring; it must therefore always be able to present an arc to the sun even when the earth's axis is at its greatest inclination.

The influence of the northern crown will be powerful enough to be felt across a third of the hemisphere; it will be visible in St Petersburg, Okhotsk and along the entire sixtieth parallel. The heat, which will increase, will be felt from there to the pole, which will enjoy the sort of temperatures currently characteristic of Andalusia or Sicily. The entire world will by then be under cultivation, bringing about a rise of five or six degrees, possibly even twelve, in the uncultivated regions such as Siberia and the north of Canada. There are two reasons for the climate to become milder in the areas adjoining the sixtieth parallel: the effect of increased cultivation and the influence of the crown, which will mean that only temperate winds, like the ones which blow from Barbary across to Genoa and Marseilles, will emanate from the pole. The conjunction of the two factors will cause the sixtieth parallel to bask in the temperatures currently enjoyed by the fully cultivated regions of the forty-fifth, such as Bordeaux, Lyons, Turin and Venice, so that the cities of Stockholm, St Petersburg, Tobolsk and Yakutsk, in the coldest latitude on earth, will enjoy temperatures comparable to those in Gascony or Lombardy, always allowing for the slight variations caused by the proximity of mountains and the sea. And the coastal regions of Siberia, unviable today, will enjoy the gentle temperature of Provence and Naples.

Another very important improvement brought by the northern crown will be the prevention of all atmospheric extremes, whether of hot or cold, humidity or aridity, storm or calm. The influence of the crown, in concert with that of universal cultivation, will introduce an even temperature to the globe of a kind which is not possible anywhere at present. The most icy climates in the world, such as those on a line from St Petersburg to Okhotsk, will enjoy temperatures such as can as yet only be found in the most renowned resorts, like Florence, Nice, Montpellier and Lisbon, blessed as they are with gentle and unruffled skies.

According to my calculations those areas have a maximum of four months of good, temperate weather, yet after the creation of the northern crown the sixtieth parallel, i.e. the line from St Petersburg to Okhotsk, will have at least eight, and will be assured of a double harvest. For a demonstration of this, see the note below,^d in which I explain what causes the long winters and

^d As well as the tilt of the earth's axis, which is the natural cause of winters, there are three accidental causes which combine to make winter four times as bad as it should be and which will cease to exist in the combined order. They are

The uncultivated state of the globe, particularly the land near the pole

The polar ice cap which, in the absence of the sun, doubles the influence of frost.

The icy emanations of the pole which counteract the sun's influence as it returns after the winter solstice

With the creation of the crown, these three influences will be neutralised. I have already said that the latitude of St Petersburg will be more easily able to produce two harvests a year than Tuscany and other regions on that latitude are at present, and that the sixtieth parallel will have a more unchanging season of fine weather than is yet possible anywhere on earth: this I shall now explain.

Once the north polar regions have been lit and warmed by the crown, and agricultural production has started, there will be nothing to counteract the influence of the sun as spring approaches, the period when at the moment glacial winds spread from the pole over the whole hemisphere, creating a second winter; which is why winter in France carries on until May and takes up the best part of the spring, when the days are of moderate length.

After the creation of the crown, the north wind, the wind from the pole, will be temperate even in winter and will warm up the sixtieth parallel as it blows over it. There will be no other source of cold winds except the area around the sixtieth parallel, and that will receive warmth from two directions, from both north and south. So spring will begin in March in St Petersburg, and even earlier in the seventieth parallel; in Paris and Spitzbergen it will be well under way by the middle of February.

This would happen naturally if it were not artificially hindered by polar winds and other emanations which halt the germination which should attend the return of the sun and give us a second, factitious winter after the true one. Never has this calamity been more striking than in 1807. Last year in Paris the bad weather appeared to be over by 15 February; the sun shone warmly and everybody thought it was the beginning of spring. Then winds from the north and north-west initiated another winter which continued for two and a half months so that it was still cold at the beginning of May. This dreadful setback happens almost every year and makes the French climate unbearable. There is no period of really fine weather, as the temperatures in summer are always too high, and, apart from the shift from autumn to winter, the transitions between the seasons are too sudden. There are only three months of bearable weather in France, in May, September and October.

It is subtle variation in temperature that makes a fine season. a light frost and cloudless weather in January seems as pleasant as a day in spring, so long as the frost does not last too long, comes gradually and in suitable weather and is not accompanied by icy winds, low cloud and freezing fog. That is what winters will

be like in the new order. Vines will grow on the sixtieth parallel and orange trees on the fifty-third and the seventieth. Warsaw will have groves of orange trees as Lisbon does now, and vines will be more securely established in St Petersburg than they are today in Mainz, because the transformation of the polar winds into zephyrs will protect them from those sudden and unexpected changes which are still one of the main causes of impoverishment everywhere.

The pole's icy influence renders our natural winters, in January, much too harsh and makes them start over again at the end of the month when they should be coming to an end. These two factors are enough to make our hemisphere a detestable place to live as far south as the fortieth parallel in Europe and the thirtieth in Asia and America, where the cold is even more severe: Philadelphia and Peking, which are on the same latitude as Lisbon and Naples, have even more unpleasant, bitter winters than Frankfurt and Dresden, which are eleven or twelve degrees further north.

It may be thought that if the blasts of winter can be so far reduced in the northern temperate zone temperatures near the equator will become intolerably hot, but this will not be the case; other factors will contribute to making the equator more temperate, making summer in Senegal less enervating than summer now is in France. A benign and moderate range of temperatures will take the place of the storms and hurricanes which extend from the equator to the temperate zones and new climates will appear at the middle of the globe as at its poles. I shall not say anything here about the causes of this correction of the equatorial temperature, as they do not have anything to do with the creation of the northern crown. To sum up, when these various principles of moderation are operating on the earth's atmosphere, the worst climate – such as that at Okhotsk and Yakutsk – will be able to rely on eight or nine months' fine weather and a sky free of fogs and hurricanes, which will become almost unheard of on the continental land masses, and occur only very rarely in areas near the sea.

It goes without saying that these improvements will not affect high mountains and areas close to the sea to the same extent, particularly the three continental extremities near the south pole, which will not have a crown and will always be shrouded in ice and fog. This however will not prevent areas close to that pole sharing in different ways in the crown's influence, which among other benefits will change the taste of the sea and disperse or precipitate bituminous particles by spreading a *boreal citric acid*. In combination with salt, this liquid will give the sea a flavour of the kind of lemonade known as *aigresel*. It will thus be easy to remove the saline and citric particles from the water and render it drinkable, which will make it unnecessary for ships to be provisioned with barrels of water. This breaking down of sea water by the boreal liquid is a necessary preliminary to the development of new sea creatures, which will provide a host of amphibious servants to pull ships and help in fisheries, replacing the ghastly legions of sea-monsters which will be annihilated by the admixture of boreal fluid and the consequent changes in the the sea's structure. The sudden death of all of them will rid the Ocean of these vile creatures, images of the intensity of our passions which are represented by the bloodthirsty battles of so many monsters. Death will strike them all at the same moment, just as we shall see the hateful customs of civilised man, barbarians and savages disappear in an instant, to give way to the virtues which will be honoured triumphantly in the combined order because they will become the way to wealth and pleasure.

N.B. The Caspian Sea and other inland salt-water lakes, like the Aral Sea, Lake Zare, Lake Jeltonde, the Gulf of Mexico and even the Black Sea which is almost

other climatic disorders the world is subject to during the first phase of the Social Movement.

In anticipation of the proof of this future event, we may observe various signs which indicate its approach: first, the contrast in form between the lands in the region of the south pole and those in the region of the north; the three southern continents taper to a point in such a way as to distance relations with the polar latitudes. A quite different form is to be observed in the northern continents, which broaden out as they approach the pole and are grouped around it to receive the rays from the ring which will one day crown it; their main rivers flow in that direction as if to attract relations with the Arctic Ocean. Now if God had not planned to give this life-giving crown to the north pole, it would follow that the disposition of the continents around the pole would be a sign of ineptitude; and God would look all the more ridiculous for having acted so wisely in his arrangement of the southern continents, which he has given dimensions perfectly suited to a pole which will never have a life-giving crown.

cut off from other seas, will receive only a small and very gradual share of the *boreal fluid's* influence. They will receive none of the underwater currents which will spread out from the pole into all the Oceans and partly open seas. These lakes will only absorb the subtlest flavourings, dispersed into the atmosphere from the crown itself, so the fish in these bituminous reservoirs will not be destroyed by boreal fluid from the crown. There will be so little of it, and it will be introduced so slowly and so imperceptibly, that they will become accustomed to it within two or three generations and grow stronger than in bituminous water, in the same way as fruit grows better and develops a fuller flavour if it is grafted on to wild stock.

So as soon as the human race sees the approach of the crown they will set in motion the same procedure for sea creatures as Noah did for those on the land when he gathered pairs of each species he wanted to save. They will take enough of all the fish, shellfish, sea-plants and other products of the sea they want to conserve, put them in salt-water lakes like the Caspian Sea, and return them to the Ocean after their regeneration. They will wait until the Ocean has *undergone its desperate remedy* and been purged by the waves of boreal fluid which will spread out from the pole with tremendous force, precipitating bitumen at such a rate that all the fish will be taken by surprise at the sudden change and will suffocate. All that will be left will be the useful species like whiting, herring, mackerel, sole, tuna and any others which do not attack divers and which will have been kept separate, to be replaced after the purification of the sea, and protected from the violent shock of the boreal liquid which they will gradually and slowly become accustomed to the inland seas. These species being entirely harmless will coexist happily with the newly created fish, seven-eighths of which will be servants of man, as will the terrestrial animals to be created in the future (as shown in the table following p. 42).

It might be lamented that God placed Cape Horn so far south as to constitute a temporary obstacle. His intention, though, is that this route should be abandoned and that navigable ship canals should be cut through the isthmuses of Suez and Panama, tasks which, like so many others, terrify civilised man but will be child's play for the industrial armies of the spheric hierarchy.

Another prognosis of the crown is the defective position of the global axis. If we were to assume that the crown was never to appear the axis ought, for the good of the two continents, to be turned back by one twenty-fourth, or seven and a half degrees, along the meridian that passes through the Sandwich Islands and Constantinople, so that the latter would be situated at thirty-two degrees north; the consequence of this would be that on longitude 225, that passes through the island of Hierro in the Canaries, the Northern Strait and the two extremities of Asia and America would extend proportionately further into the polar ice-cap. This would sacrifice the least useful part of the globe to the benefit of everywhere else, as we can see by looking in more detail at the polar and temperate regions.

As far as the polar regions are concerned, we can see that the northern straits are completely useless because of the way Cape Szalaginskoi protrudes, so moving the strait further into the ice-cap would hardly matter as it is already unnavigable. Yet moving it closer to the pole would push the most valuable region of the glacial area, the Gulf of Archangel and the White Sea, further away and render them much more viable, as North Cape in Lapland would then only be sixty-four degrees north, the same level as Jakobstad, the northernmost city in Finland. Maritime relations could easily be extended to the mouths of the Ob' and the Yenisey, as the shift in the earth's axis would make them six degrees warmer, and the consequent cultivation of eastern Siberia would raise the temperature a further six degrees. It would thus be possible to establish maritime communication between one end of the great continent and the other, and Chinese products could be transported from the elbow of the Huang He to Lake Baikal and thence could be embarked and sent cheaply to Europe down the Angara and the Yenisey.

In our temperate zone, important waterways such as the English Channel and the Sund would similarly benefit by being five or six

degrees closer to the equator. The gulfs of St Lawrence and Korea would hardly move at all, but the whole of the Baltic would gain a good seven degrees and St Petersburg would move to a position level with Berlin.

I shall not say anything about the equatorial regions because a move of seven and a half degrees would not be of any consequence in those latitudes.

Towards forty-five degrees south, the southern tip of America would be a little closer to the equator, which would be advantageous. The extremities of Australia would also benefit, to a greater degree, and the tip of Africa would drop from thirty-five to forty-two degrees south but would be no less navigable, and in any case will sooner or later be abandoned in favour of the Suez Canal.

If you trace out the latitudes on a planisphere, readjusted in accordance with this shift of axis, you will see that it will benefit the whole earth, except for a few cantons which are not worth considering, like Kamchatka. God would have set the axis the way I have outlined if we were not to be given the northern crown, which will enable our ridiculously positioned axis to be relocated where it will be most conducive to the general good, an unanswerable argument for the necessity of the crown and its future creation.

Nobody has previously pointed out the unsatisfactory nature of the axis because the philosophic spirit draws us away from rational criticism of God's works into more extreme positions, doubting providence or falling into mindless, blind admiration, like that demonstrated by certain scholars who admire spiders, toads and other such filth, which can only seem a cause for shame on the creator's part until such time as we understand the motives behind their misshapen existence. The same is true of the axis of the globe: its defective positioning is designed to lead us to criticise God and thereby divine the creation of the crown which will justify the creator's apparent mistake. But our philosophical extremism, the mania for atheism or total admiration, has led us away from any kind of impartial judgement of the works of God, and we have therefore been unable to decide on the necessary correctives to his work, or to have any inkling of the material and political revolutions through which he will carry out these improvements.

I have gone into all this detail in order to prove that the material disposition of the continents and landmasses was not random. I

shall provide a second proof after this note (when I deal with commercial monopoly in Archipelagos). Chance will soon lose the exalted power philosophy ascribes to it instead of to providence, and people will recognise that God has kept it within very strict limits, as for example in this case of the continents where, far from it being an effect of chance, God has calculated what would be most suitable, even down to preparing a special position for a capital of universal unity. Even today everybody is struck by the uniquely marvellous way he has made Constantinople a centre of usefulness and pleasure. Everybody sees the hand of God in it, and says 'This is where the capital of the world should be.' It will have to be sited there, and the first meridian of universal harmony will be fixed at its antipodes.

On the subject of the northern crown, I should add that there is nothing extraordinary in the prediction of this meteor if you think of the rings of Saturn: why should God not give us what he gives to other worlds? Is the existence of a polar ring harder to comprehend than that of the equatorial belts around Saturn?

The sight of those two rings of light ought, of course, to have banished our preconceived ideas about the sun, so absurdly imagined as a world in flames. Herschel is the only person to have offered a proper description of it as 'a vast and magnificent world bathed in an ocean of light.' It was obvious from the moment Saturn's two rings were sighted that if God could surround a globe with circular rings, he could do it with spherical ones, or provide polar rings or polar caps: all that remains to be understood are the theories governing their distribution, which will allow our globe to share a favour which until now only Saturn has enjoyed. Other planets, too, will receive it, from the vortices from which they all draw some kind of decorative light to warm one or both poles; ours is more or less without it because it is one of the most impoverished planets in the firmament. I shall show that our twenty-eight planets, and another twenty or so which have not been discovered yet, are just the traces of a vortex, a badly organised small cohort, like the fleeing remnants of a regiment destroyed in battle. Other vortices have four to five hundred planets arranged in Series of groups, that is they contain satellites of satellites, all equipped with rings, crowns, polar caps and other ornaments. If such favour is in store for our globe it is a just recompense for the misfortunes which

condemned it, in its first phase, to be the most wretched of all the planets in the vortex.

There may be some accidental disturbances to the succession assigned to the thirty-two social periods, as for example the entry of a new planet into the vortex which seems likely to happen because of the extreme distance between the sun and the largest planets. These stars, few in number and with widely separate orbits, form a rather tenuous line which any comet is liable to break through; there are various ways in which this might happen, one of which I outline in the note below.* The contiguity and intercon-

* I assume that if a large comet, the size of Jupiter, reaches its moment of fecundation, and is at the right level for becoming a planet, it would try to enter the line and take up a position in a vortex. If it arrived above our Sun parallel to the level of the planetary orbits it could, as it returned, take up a position between the Sun and Jupiter; instead of continuing on its parabolic course, it would describe a spiral as it investigated the area and looked for a point of equilibrium between Jupiter and the Sun. In the course of this spiral it would come close to all the small, isolated planets, which would be drawn to it as Moons. The Earth and Venus, which are the largest, are still much too weak to put up any resistance to a large attractive world approaching them, and the comet would be attractive as soon as it fixed itself on our Sun.

From then on our little globe would be drawn in, becoming one of the Moons of the intruder, which would soon become the richest and most fertile planet in the whole vortex because of its proximity to the Sun and the large number of its Moons. The intruder would form an association with Venus, Mars, Earth and all the smaller globes between the Sun and Jupiter, creating a brilliant retinue of seven or eight satellites and, like Saturn, would produce a double equatorial ring or a double corona at both poles as these twofold embellishments are allocated to all septilunary planets when their inhabitants have formed the combined order. (Saturn has not always had its two rings and it will lose them again at the end of its course, when its social mechanism descends once more to the order of incoherent Series.)

The highly probable advent of such a comet would be an extremely advantageous revolution for our globe, because it would immediately produce a very fruitful new creation, ensuring the emergence of progressive Series and the downfall of civilised and barbarous states.

The transformation of our globe into a lunar world would bring no harm to the human race; the alteration in the order of days and seasons might destroy some animal and vegetable species, but not the most useful ones like horses, sheep and so on which would remain to augment the riches which the new creation would immediately give us.

The new planet would become a vice-Sun, which would shed an immense light over us; we would also have the adventitious light of its satellites; these, revolving in neighbouring orbits, could provide us with as many as six Moons at once when they appeared together in the semi circle of our orbit. We may conclude from this that the great comets which so frighten the human race are really a source of hope, not terror, as their establishment in the vortex would become a guarantee of our happiness.

nections of Ceres, Pallas and Juno are evidence that the orbits could be much closer to each other without resulting in agglomeration and, in anticipation of this, I estimate that there would need to be a distance of thirty million leagues between Jupiter and Saturn, and the same between Saturn and Uranus. The vast distances of 130 and 260 million leagues which currently exist between them are a factor of the paucity of planets: because there are so few of them, they are forced to occupy not just the same space as a complete vortex with four or five hundred planets, but an even larger one.

First period of ascending subversion. Confused Series

Traces of it to be found in the myth of the Earthly Paradise

God created sixteen species of man, namely nine on the old continent and seven in America. A detailed account of the way they differ is not important. See the note below!

This revolution would be one of the smallest foreseeable. It might happen that instead of one comet a mass of three or four hundred might suddenly turn up and establish themselves near our Sun, to their benefit and ours. Such an event is the more likely as our vortex is, as I have said, astronomic debris waiting for replacements. The average total for a vortex is four hundred planets orbiting the Sun; ours, which has only thirty or so, is surely more like a legion reduced to a shadow of itself, a weakened platoon that will serve as the nucleus and rallying-point for the mass of new recruits who are sent to it.

One of the most interesting of the celestial revolutions which could affect our planetary system would be the dispersal of the Milky Way and the despatch of one of its formations to our vortex. If that happened we would have the pleasure of seeing dazzling legions composed of *hypermoons* or stars of moderate brightness, like the Moon, pass by us for thousands of years. As they passed they would heat both poles on all our planets so that they could be cultivated, which would bring about a further and most magnificent creation, whose value for us would be incalculable.

Among the sixteen primitive races, we must distinguish the four heterogeneous races: 1. *Northern Dwarves*, like the Lapps and Samoyeds; 2. *Southern Giants*, like Patagonians, etc.; 3. *Native Albinos*, like the Bedas of Ceylon and the American Darians; 4. *Native Negroes*, with squashed faces, from Guinea.

Albinos and Negroes both existed from creation, although the human race has the capacity to produce them itself. The Albinos were the only one of the four heterogeneous races to be found on both continents.

These four races are very different from the rest; the other twelve are more or less variations on a common type, and can thus be called homogeneous races. A proper definition of their original differences is a calculus of organic movement that I shall not go into here; I merely want to criticise the timidity which has so

The three species with straight, convex and concave features were placed in the northern temperate zone, between thirty and thirty-five degrees north. (I am speaking only about the old continent.) These were the latitudes in which they were able to organise primitive society, the confused Series. This social order could last no longer than about three centuries; the reader already knows that I shall only provide information about it in terms of the eighth period, which sees the organisation of a much more interesting set of Series than the primitive ones we are dealing with here.

These first men emerged happy from the hands of God because they were able to organise a society with Series, and all societies of that sort are more or less happy as they allow the passions to develop.

Most wild beasts and reptiles were created near the equator, with a few, such as wolves, created in the cold latitudes, and before they spread to the area between thirty and thirty-five degrees north they did not bother the races of men that were put there, i.e. the races with straight, concave and convex features. These races found an

far characterised discussion of this subject. We still see scholars arguing about how the inhabitants of America arrived there. God, it seems, did not have the power to create in America as he did in Europe. And because they find incongruities like the bearded *Eskimos* among other natives who are unbearded they conclude that the *Eskimos* must have come from the nearby old continent. But this is wrong: *Eskimos*, like many others, are of primitive origin: differences between peoples are never the result of chance.

The twelve homogeneous races were divided into two groups, seven on the old continent and five in America. And although beardless and bearded men are to be found side by side, there is nothing surprising about that. The sixteen races must supply the differences called for by the theory of movement and still clearly to be seen all over the earth. Despite invasions, despite the capture of women and slaves and the consequent mixing of races, the forms of features have remained the same, nothing has been able to destroy the original types; even fashion has practically no power to change them: our physiognomies are still similar to those of the ancient nations whose portraits have survived from three thousand years ago. Racial differences therefore must not be attributed to revolutions or chance: we can see in them, as in all the other varieties of creation, the effects of a distributive theory which we do not as yet understand. The key to it is to be found in the laws of *organic movement*.

I apologise to the fabulists who derive the whole human race from a single source, but it is surely ignoring the obvious to imagine that the convex features of Senegal and the concave faces of China, that the *Kalmuks*, the Europeans, the *Patagonians* and the *Lapps*, are all offshoots of a single tree. In all the branches of his creation, God establishes an ascending and descending series of discrete nuances: why then when he created the human race should he have departed from the order he follows in all the other objects of creation, from stars down to insects?

abundance of the best animals and plants of creation, and indeed had some which are no longer known to us, like the mammoth whose bones have been discovered, which had no way of defending itself and must have perished with primitive society, which it served in so many important ways.

Originally these three races had no social organisation. It was not just instinct that led them to form Series: they were encouraged to do so by five sets of circumstances which no longer exist.

- 1st: *The absence of preconceived ideas*, and consequently an amorous freedom which is inadmissible in incoherent societies, where people are organised in families or isolated households.
- 2nd: *The numerical paucity of inhabitants*. This resulted in a superabundance of flocks, fruit, fish, game, etc. God placed the groups of these first men at great distances from each other and it took a long time for them to become sufficiently numerous to define their own territory.
- 3rd: *The absence of any indicative signs of wealth*. They lacked any mechanical skill and had no precious objects of fixed value, such as the weapons and ornaments of savages. They had instead an abundance of perishable provisions and riches, and the difficulty of accumulating these gave rise to the idea of anticipatory compensation, which favoured the formation of Series.
- 4th: *The absence of wild beasts*. Their distance from each other helped make them very mild in manner, preventing murderous inventions and the spirit of bellicosity, and helped to preserve animals now lost, like the mammoth.
- 5th: *The beauty of beings in their original state*. It is a great mistake to think that when they were created animals and plants were as they are now, in the wild. The aurochs, for example, or the wild sheep are not ancestors of cattle and sheep but degenerate forms of them. The flocks and herds created by God were superior to the finest Swiss cattle and the best Spanish sheep; the same is true of flowers and fruits. 'Everything was good when it left the hands of the creator', says Rousseau: it is a truth for which he adduces no evidence, and he weakens it in the next line by adding: 'In man's hands everything degenerated.'¹ But it was not man who brought animals and plants down to the level they are at now, whether

¹ *Emile*, Book 1, chapter 1.

domesticated or wild; it was incoherence, by breaking down the order of Series, that made the world's produce deteriorate, even man himself, whose original height was seventy-four and two-thirds inches, or six feet two and two-thirds inches, for the straight-featured race. In those days the race easily lived to the age of a hundred and twenty-eight (eight times sixteen); the rest of the earth's progeny was equally vigorous, while the roses of creation were more beautiful than the ones in our gardens. This general perfection continued throughout the first social period, which was made possible by the concurrence of these five circumstances.

Peace reigned not because of the general well-being but because of a property inherent in the Series, namely the development and systematic involvement of the passions which, outside progressive Series, clash with each other and give rise to war and every other sort of discord. However it is important to realise that there was no equality or community in the primitive order. Philosophic chimeras of that sort, as I have said, are incompatible with progressive Series, which demand the opposite, a scale of inequalities. They may have had a scale of this sort in the original period, even though they could not write, for describing and defining the interests of each society member. I shall explain the method they used to classify satisfactorily such a wide variety of claims.

The passions were more violent then than they are today. Men had none of that pastoral simplicity that has never existed anywhere outside poetry. They were proud, sensual, and the slaves of their desires; women and children were the same; the so-called vices were pledges of concord, and will be pledges of social harmony once more, as soon as the Series are reconstituted.

They must have become disorganised as a result of incidents contrary to the five productive circumstances I have just described. Too-rapid multiplication of clans soon produced poverty, while the activities of the wild beasts which were arriving from the equator encouraged the invention of weapons; pillage grew rapidly in popularity because agriculture was hard, still in its infancy, and unable to provide the superabundance of food necessary to the mechanism of Series; this in turn gave rise to marriage, division into incoherent households, then the transition to the savage, patriarchal and barbarous order.

While primitive Series lasted the condition of the human race was such a fortunate one that people must have despaired as they saw the Series disintegrating. Children were the last support of that order; they covered the political retreat and remained together in harmony long after the fathers had fallen into dissension and were on the verge of setting up isolated households and exclusive marriages, the idea of which was suggested by their growing poverty. The poorer they became, the greater the tribal chiefs' interest in establishing marriage, which eventually prevailed.

Before they arrived at this extreme they must have tried a variety of more or less unsuccessful measures to sustain the primitive order, and when they finally recognised that that lovely social order could never be re-established the tribal chiefs – seeing that regret for what had been lost was plunging nations into apathy and distaste for work – set about weakening all memories of lost happiness, stories of which could do nothing but disturb the new social order.

As a result all the chiefs agreed to distort the tradition. They could not deny it altogether as long as there were still eye-witnesses but it was easy enough to delude the generations that followed, who had not seen the order of industrial Series. They deliberately spread contradictory stories to cast doubts on all of them; hence those more or less absurd myths, believed all over the East, about an *Earthly Paradise* from which man was evicted.

One aspect of the hogwash they used to distort the truth that needs particular emphasis is the use of mysterious secrets and initiations among the priests of the ancient East. Originally, these mysteries were almost certainly the traditions of the primitive order, but as increasing adversity required new precautions to keep the distressing secret from the nations, it had to be restricted to a tiny number of initiates, and false mysteries invented to mislead the enquiring subordinates admitted to the priesthood. To continue to keep the tradition secret meant limiting it to such a small number of adepts that all the true initiates may have been wiped out in a war or similar incident. The mass of the priests would still have continued its mysterious initiations, which no longer had any substance, being merely a trick to enable them to maintain the social position they had achieved.

Presumably the priests of Isis and Bramah had already been reduced to this level of ignorance and no longer had any idea of

primitive order; in any case such ideas would very quickly have been distorted in those crude days before the invention of writing, when every narrator added something of his own to the stories he transmitted. Orientals are just as good at spinning tales as those who live beside the Garonne, and I estimate that after three centuries the tradition must have been so altered by additional legends that it would have been unimaginable, even to true initiates. All that remained was one fundamental truth: *a past happiness, lost and never to be regained*. From this the priests argued for God's alleged anger, banishment from a favoured dwelling, and other stories designed to intimidate the multitude and teach them what the sacerdotal body wanted them to know.

I think I have adequately described the causes for our remaining in complete ignorance of primitive society. This ignorance will cease: the theory of Social Movement will bring the subject back into the light, and describe the mechanism of that first stage of society in full detail, and show how it was succeeded by savagery, the patriarchate and barbarism.

The five periods organised in incoherent families: second, third, fourth, fifth and sixth

I shall deal with these five social periods in a single chapter: it would take too long to give individual details for each of them, and take us beyond the scope of this sketch, which is not even a full summary.

Passing over the second or *savagery*, which is of no great interest, we come to the *patriarchate*, or third stage. This society is almost unknown: although thought to be a primitive order, it was not to be found among any peoples in the first two ages. Human beings of all races were free of prejudice when they were created, and nowhere dreamed of making amorous freedom a crime: their vigour and longevity gave them quite contrary opinions, and led them to orgies, incest and the most lubricious customs. When all peoples shared a life-span of 128 years, and consequently had a good hundred years to devote to love, they could scarcely have been persuaded, as the sanctimonious members of Civilisation have been, that they ought to spend their hundred years of love with one woman, without loving any others.

A long time was required to create the circumstances that made restrictions of amorous freedom necessary: the race had to lose a large part of its primitive vigour before it acceded to rules so contrary to the interest of healthy people. But as their strength visibly declined, the disintegration of the Series opened the way for coercive control over love and for savage and patriarchal societies, etc.

There is as much ignorance of the patriarchate as about primitive society. Abraham and Jacob, in the form they are depicted, are not patriarchal: they were barbarians, shaped by cruelty and injustice, and kept harems and slaves, in the manner of the barbarians. They were, unmistakably, pashas or tyrants, indulging in every sort of dissolute behaviour; what could be more vicious and unjust than Abraham sending Agar and her son Ishmael into the desert to die of hunger for no other reason than that he had had enough of the woman and wanted to be rid of her. That was his motive for sending a woman and her young child to their deaths. It is a fine example of the patriarchal virtues: there is nothing but equally odious behaviour to be found among all the patriarchs.

Yet philosophy wants to encourage us to revive patriarchal customs. The philosopher Raynal, in his history of the two Indies, begins with a ceremonial eulogy of the Chinese, representing them as the most perfect of nations because they have retained the patriarchal customs.² Let us analyse this perfection in more detail: China, with its much-vaunted culture, is so poor that you see people eating handfuls of the lice and bugs their clothes are infested with. China is the only country where cheating is legal and applauded: every merchant has the right to sell false measures and work other swindles of the sort that even barbarians punish. The Chinese, though, pride themselves on their corruption, and when a tradesman has tricked somebody, he calls his neighbours round to receive their praise and laughter along with those of the victim [though the law does not allow him any redress]. As a nation they are the most litigious there has ever been: nowhere else do they argue as obstinately and relentlessly as in China. The depths of their behaviour are so base, and they have so little idea of honour, that the executioner is one of the close associates, one of the high officers, of the sovereign, who makes him thrash his court-esans before his eyes. The Chinese are the only people who publicly

² See Raynal, *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements & du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes*.

despise their Gods and drag their idols in the mud when they do not provide what they have been asked for. They have taken infanticide to greater lengths than any other nation; they expose their children on dungheaps where they are eaten alive by pigs, or else float them downriver attached to an empty pumpkin shell. They are also extremely jealous and persecutory of women, whose feet are bound from infancy so that they are incapable of walking. As for children, fathers have the right to play dice for them and to sell them as slaves. Lastly, the Chinese are the greatest cowards on earth and in order not to frighten them it is customary to point the guns on town walls upwards, even when they are not loaded. With customs like these, of which I have only given a very incomplete outline, the Chinese have nothing but scorn for civilised peoples, because they are less dishonest. They say that the Europeans are blind when it comes to business, that only the Dutch have an eye for it, but that the Chinese have two. (The distinction is flattering to the Dutch [and to the spirit of commerce].)

These are the men who preach philosophy and whom Raynal would have us take as models. Of course Raynal knows, better than anybody, that China is the repository of all the social vices, that it is the moral and political sewer of the globe, but he has praised their customs because they fit in well with the attitude of the philosophers, with their sophisms about thrift and the industrial isolation they want to propagate. That is the real reason why they are so enthusiastic about patriarchal life, despite its odious results, because the Chinese and the Jews, the nations most faithful to the patriarchal customs, are also the most vicious and deceitful in the world.

In order to side-step these accounts of the reality, the philosophers depict only the most favourable aspect of China, saying nothing about corruption, nor about the terrible poverty of its people. As for the Jews, their social vices are often attributed to the persecution they have suffered, whereas in fact persecution encourages nobility among outlaws. Christians were never more honourable than when they were an object of persecution and had no prince and no rallying-point. Why should religious oppression produce such different results in the two peoples? Because the Christians, in their misfortune, adopted that corporate frame of mind which engenders noble passions among outcasts, whereas the Jews retained the patriarchal outlook which is the origin of the lowest

passions, and which had in fact brought them down in the days of their power. Has there ever been a more contemptible nation than the Hebrews, who never made a single advance in the arts and sciences, and who were distinguished only by their habitual crime and brutality, accounts of which depress the spirit on every page of their disgusting annals?

This digression ought to lead on to an analysis of the patriarchal mind and the vices and dissimulation it nurtured in the heart. But this short account being unable to allow of such discussions I shall return to the question, and restrict myself to pointing out how ignorant the civilised are about the federal patriarchate, which was the third period of ascending incoherence.

The *Federal Patriarchate* was made up of free, neighbouring families, united in congresses, like the Tartars. In this state of affairs, patriarchal families started to want to improve the position of official wives, gradually increasing their privileges and their civil rights until they reached the state of semi-liberty they enjoy today. This measure enabled the members of the patriarchate to leave the third period and enter the fifth, Civilisation. Civilisation cannot be created out of savagery or barbarism; savages and barbarians never spontaneously adopt our social customs.⁸ Even the Americans, despite all their attempts to seduce and trick the natives, have not yet brought any of the tribes to full Civilisation: the natural course of the movement demands that it is created from federal patriarchates or from an altered barbarism like that of the ancient Orientals who, in different ways, shared some of the characteristics of the federal patriarchate.

As for incoherent patriarchates, like that of Abraham and Jacob, they only lead to barbarism, an order in which every father becomes a satrap, erects his slightest whim into a virtue, and wields the most appalling tyranny over his family, following the examples of Abraham and Jacob who were as unjust and corrupt as any of the rulers of Tunis or Algiers.

Savagery, barbarism and Civilisation are not much better known than the patriarchate: when I have an opportunity to deal with the phases and characteristics of each period, I shall show that our philosophical luminaries are as misleading about Civilisation as they

⁸ The only recorded examples are the petty king of the Sandwich Islands and one or two hordes in Ohio who have begun, very roughly, to make this change. The exception proves the rule.

are about how to emerge from it and move into the sixth period.

The sixth period, *guaranteeism*, is one that might have been invented by the philosophers as it is not very different from civilised behaviour and retains *household life, marriage, swindling* and other central qualities of the philosophical system; it does however substantially reduce the incidence of *revolutions and indigence*. On the other hand, though, however easy it might be for them to invent the sixth period, how could the philosophers raise the human race above Civilisation when they do not even know how to raise it as far as Civilisation, namely to bring savages and barbarians into the civilised order? They have not even been able to help Civilisation progress; and when I break down the civilised mechanism into four phases, I shall show that it reached the third by chance without the philosophers ever having any influence over their cherished Civilisation. Instead of speeding its progress they have held it back, like inept mothers whose playfulness tires the child and creates dangerous fantasies, seeds of illness, which make it pine away when they think they are helping it. This is what the philosophers have done in their enthusiasm for Civilisation: while they thought they were perfecting it they have in fact been making it worse; they have nourished the prevailing illusions and propagated error instead of seeking out the ways of truth. Even today they are still recklessly endorsing the mercantile spirit which they ought to be combating, out of shame if nothing else since they have poured scorn on commerce for 2,000 years. If therefore it had been left to the philosophers, Civilisation would still be in its first phase and would still have barbarous customs like slavery, which the scholars of Greece and Rome were so proud of.^a

I will add one proof of the general ignorance of the civilised mechanism, taken from the unpredictable calamities which befall every generation. The most recent was the Jacobin clubs and their associates: nobody in 1789 imagined what they would be like, for all the scholarly analyses of Civilisation. Other calamities will follow which the philosophers will be equally incapable of foreseeing, such as *commercial feudalism*, which will be no less odious than rule of

^a The abolition of slavery was the product of the decline of feudalism. That regime was introduced by chance, not by philosophical calculation which has always persisted in preaching prejudices or else reversing them thoughtlessly and without any preparatory measures, which is even worse than maintaining them.

the clubs and will be the result of the day-to-day influence of the commercial spirit on the social system. Its encroachment will produce a terrible innovation, which civilised man is far from predicting. Nobody, though, should be alarmed by this forecast; it should cause joy, not fear, because the theory of Social Movement will provide us with the means of predicting and averting political stormclouds.

Precise contrasts between societies with progressive Series and those with incoherent families

The first and seventh societies are formed into *Series* and in every respect provide a complete contrast with the second, third, fourth, fifth and sixth societies, which are organised in *families*. In the latter five, the good of the whole is in opposition to the passions of the individual, so that the government, operating for the good of the whole, is obliged to use force. This never happens in societies of Series, where the general good coincides so exactly with individual passions that the administration only has to *inform* the citizens about the appropriate measures, such as taxes or special duties. Everything is paid or carried out by the Series on set days, which require only one announcement. In the five incoherent societies some measure of constraint is needed even for the adoption of obviously beneficial measures which cause no fatigue or distress, like uniform weights and measures. Whereas if we were in the seventh period, the government would merely have to inform the people how a job should be done and send out instructions: as soon as these arrived in the provinces, in the cantons, they would be adopted without any further orders being necessary.

Resistance of the second, third, fourth, fifth and sixth societies to generally useful measure exists in corporations as well as individuals. In Turkey, for example, the state functionaries, as well as the ordinary people, rejected the introduction of military discipline, even though they felt it to be necessary. These second, third, fourth, fifth and sixth societies, subject to poverty, revolutions, marriage, swindling, etc., are characterised by *repugnance*, that is they see and communicate with each other without ever wanting to imitate each other. We look at barbaric society without wanting to adopt their

customs, they look at ours without wanting to imitate them, and so on through all five societies organised in incoherent families; like harmful animals they are mutually incompatible, and if the five were brought face to face, none would want to be assimilated into any of the others. There are a few partial exceptions to this rule: the sixth society, for example, does have a weak attraction for the fifth.

The first and seventh societies, like all other societies of progressive Series, have the general property of *attraction*; the only exception to this is society No. 1, which has a weak attraction for the rich classes of the fourth, fifth and sixth societies. The seventh society will be a powerful attraction for all rich and middle classes, even though it is only a path to the true happiness which we shall begin to enjoy in the eighth. Yet the seventh is already so fortunate in comparison to the civilised order that if it could be instantly organised many weak and sensitive people would fall ill with shock and sorrow at the sudden sight of so much happiness, which they had never had and which they would now be able to enjoy.

To give some idea of the attraction which the eighth period, when it comes, will be able to exert, I shall borrow the words of another writer, who says: 'If men could ever see the full glory of God, the excess of wonder might bring about their death.' And what is this glory of God? Nothing but the reign of the combined order which will be established and which is the most beautiful of the divine conceptions. If we could suddenly see the combined order, the work of God, as it will be in full operation (as I shall describe it in the dialogues of the year 2200) there is no doubt but that many civilised people would be struck dead by the force of their ecstasy. The mere description could arouse an enthusiasm which would lead to mania in many of them, especially among women, leaving them indifferent to the pleasures, and unfit for the tasks, of dreary Civilisation. It is in order to moderate their surprise that I describe it so far in advance, and that I shall defer description of the combined order and the comparison of its delights with the spiritual and bodily miseries endured by civilised man until the third memorandum. Such a comparison would be bound to excite the most wretched of them and drive them to despair if it were not presented in ways designed to minimise its effect, to which end I shall deliberately inject a note of coolness into the first accounts and

devote them to arid explanations of the general revolutions of the movement and the follies of civilised man. I shall have more to say about this.

Societies of incoherent families (the second, third, fourth, fifth and sixth) having the property of exciting *repugnance* for agricultural and manufacturing work and for the arts and sciences, children reject work and study in these five social orders and become destructive as soon as they can form groups or free and passionate associations. This universal inclination of children to destroy when they are given freedom is a very surprising property of the human species. In societies of Series, children acquire the opposite qualities: they work ceaselessly and help in countless ways, quite spontaneously taking over all the small tasks which in our society occupy the abilities of thirty-year-olds. And in progressive Series there is *natural education*; the children teach themselves without any external prompting or surveillance. As soon as they can walk they are abandoned to their own devices with no instructions except to enjoy themselves however they like with groups of friends: all it needs is competition, the impetus provided by the Series, for these children, by the age of sixteen, to have acquired ideas about all the areas of science and the arts and practical knowledge of all the farms and factories in the canton. All this understanding has cost them nothing: the reverse, in fact, as they will have some small savings, the reward for the many tasks they carried out during childhood through competition, attraction and seeking enjoyment with the hardest-working Series of children. (See the note¹ below on the hierarchy of passionate attraction.)

There can be no natural education outside progressive Series. The education received by each child in incoherent societies varies according to the whims of teachers or fathers and has nothing in

¹ Its development operates by three competing, rival and independent powers: children, women and men. I place men in the third rank because attraction works from the weak to the strong; that is, the order of things that will operate industrial attraction will draw in children more intensely than their fathers and mothers, and women more intensely than men, so that in the combined order it will be the children who provide the main impetus to labour and, after them, it will be the women who draw the men into work.

I shall not go into any more detail about these incomprehensible assertions: they should provide a hint that the mechanisms of attraction will be the opposite in every way of civilised opinion. How could it be otherwise, when nothing is more hostile to nature than Civilisation?

common with the purposes of nature, according to which children should turn their hands to all sorts of work, changing from one to another almost hourly. In the combined order this is what they will do, and as a result they will acquire amazing strength and dexterity because they will be constantly active, always doing different things, and never doing any one thing for too long. But elsewhere children become sullen, clumsy, weak and rude, which is why the human race degenerated in less than fifty years, after the dissolution of the primitive Series. As soon as the societary order is re-established, there will be an increase in height among the children brought up in that order, though not among the grown men: two or three inches will be added to the human stature each generation until it reaches an average of 84 inches or 7 feet¹ for men, which will take nine generations. Strength and longevity will increase in a different ratio over sixteen generations, after which the usual life expectancy will be 144 years, with other powers proportionately increased as well.

Mental faculties will be developed more rapidly: I estimate that about twelve years will be enough to change those *living automata* we call peasants, who are so coarse as to be closer to the animal than the human species, into men.

In the combined order even the poorest people, simple agricultural workers born in an agricultural phalanx, will be initiated into every kind of knowledge. There will be nothing surprising about this general improvement as the combined order will draw people passionately into studying the arts and sciences which will become the path to vast fortunes, as we shall see in the second part of this account.

Large-scale agricultural and manufacturing industries are not possible in the first, second or third societies; they only start to

¹ The choice of the twelve-inch Paris foot as a natural measure is not arbitrary: it is appropriate because it equals one thirty-second of the height of the water in a suction-pump. The Paris inch and the line (one-twelfth of an inch: Trans.) are further subdivisions of this natural measure, as natural economy demands that our numerical medium should contain the greatest number of common divisors in the smallest unit sum. We therefore have to choose the number 12 and its powers. Scholars agree on this, although the number 10 has come to be preferred in ordinary use, which is quite unsuitable for notation as 10 and 14 are the least subdividable of all even numbers. The number 10 may be good for civilised man who is more concerned with habit than reason, and treats the most sensible innovations as insurmountable obstacles. But when we move to organising a unitary system for all global communication, like language, measure, numeration, etc., we shall have to get rid of the numbers 10 and 9 currently in use in Europe and Asia.

appear in the course of the fourth, barbarism. If large-scale industry could have developed in the first society the human race would have been spared the misery of passing through the five unhappy periods, the first, second, third, fourth, fifth and sixth, and would have risen immediately from the first to the seventh, namely from simple confused Series to simple incoherent Series. This is an advantage enjoyed by the inhabitants of suns and ringed planets like Saturn: they do not suffer the disgrace of becoming savages, barbarians and civilised man, but retain organisation in Series throughout the course of their societies, a state of well-being they owe to the wealth of produce provided at their original creation.

On our planet this original creation, which exercises a major influence on the fate of every globe, was so impoverished that it was unable to provide the progressive Series with the food necessary for their work for more than a short time. These Series needed to work at many and varied occupations, and were thus unable to form near the equator where God had created several races which were hampered from the outset by the large numbers of wild beasts, reptiles and insects which paralysed the practice of industry. It was also impossible to form progressive Series in the two Americas as they lacked the principal materials of labour, having no horses, cattle, sheep, pigs or fowls; the same poverty extended to the vegetable and mineral realms, as the Americans had no iron or copper.

At a later period, Series were unable to form on the island of Tahiti, even though the seeds of the societary order were there as they allowed a degree of amorous freedom. If this island had had the important animals, plants and minerals of the old continent, its discoverers would have found fully formed confused Series; its people would have had an average height of $74\frac{2}{3}$ inches, the primitive height of the human race, and the height it would regain after a few generations in countries where the first or seventh period was reorganised. I have already said that men will reach 84 inches in the eighth period, which is yet more favourable to the material and mental development of the human species and the domestic animals in its service.

It is in the fourth society, barbarism, that man begins to create large-scale industry. In the fifth, Civilisation, the sciences and arts are created and thereafter we have all the resources necessary to reorganise the primitive Series and raise them to a level of

considerable comfort. The sixth period is just a path towards industrial Series which are partly formed in the seventh.

The second society, savagery, and the fourth, barbarism, are periods of stagnation and have no tendency to advance towards a higher order; savages have no desire to raise themselves to the order of barbarism, which is higher than theirs in terms of industry. Barbarians obstinately refuse to raise themselves to the civilised order. Both societies, the savage and the barbarous, remain invariably attached to their customs, good or bad.

The third, fifth and sixth societies tend more or less towards progress, as witness Civilisation, which does everything it can to institute improvements: every day, rulers attempt administrative innovations and philosophers put forward new political and ethical systems; thus Civilisation tries desperately, in theory and in practice, to reach the sixth society, without being able to attain it, because, as I have said, this change is a matter of domestic and industrial procedures, not administrative ones. And philosophy is exclusively concerned with the latter, never having wished to speculate at all about innovation of a domestic or societary order.

I may add a further contrast taken from the way *truth* is used: truth rules in societies formed into progressive Series and *falsehood* rules in societies formed into incoherent families.

In the former, telling the truth brings greater benefits to everybody than telling lies. All individuals, whether vicious or virtuous, love and practise truth as the way to fortune. Thus it happens that all industrial relations in these twenty-two societies are governed by dazzling truthfulness.

The opposite is the case with the ten societies of incoherent families, in which fortunes can only be achieved through trickery and dishonesty, which is why fraud and swindling triumph throughout these ten periods, and why Civilisation, one of the societies of families, can show almost no success that is not based on trickery, apart from a few very rare exceptions which only serve to confirm the rule.

The second and sixth societies, savagery and guaranteeism, are less favourable to lies than Civilisation is, but they are dens of deceit compared with the blazing truth that reigns in the eighteen societies of progressive Series.

The conclusion that arises from this may seem ridiculous, but it can be demonstrated rigorously; the most essential quality required

for the triumph of truth in the eighteen societies is *love of riches*. The man who, in Civilisation, indulges in every conceivable kind of deceit will be the most truthful of men in the combined order, because men like that are not deceitful for the pleasure of it, only in order to make money. Show him, in a business matter, a profit of one thousand écus on a lie and three thousand écus for telling the truth and he will prefer the truth, however dishonest he may be at heart. In this way the most cunning men will rapidly become the most enthusiastic friends of truth in an order where it leads to rapid profits and where the practice of lying leads only to certain ruin.

Nothing is easier, therefore, than to bring about the triumph of truth over the whole of the earth by merely leaving the second, third, fourth, fifth and sixth societies, and moving into societies organised in progressive Series. It is a change which should not cause the slightest trouble as it only affects domestic and industrial organisation which have nothing to do with government or administration.

All the arrangements of the combined order will produce complete contrasts to our own customs, and will make it necessary to protect everything we call vice, such as greed and sexual intrigue; the cantons where these so-called vices will be most in evidence will be those which develop industry to the most complete state and whose shares are most sought after for capital investment.

Strange as these assertions may seem, I set them down in order to focus attention upon one great truth, namely that God was bound to form our characters to suit the combined order, which will last 70,000 years, and not to suit the incoherent order, which was to last no more than 10,000. In terms of the requirements of the combined order, therefore, you will see there is nothing vicious in your passions. As an example let us look at, say, the character of a *housewife*.

In the civilised order it might be thought desirable that all women should enjoy housework as they are all destined to be married and run an incoherent household. However, if you were to examine young women's inclinations you would realise that scarcely a quarter of them are good housewives and that the other three-quarters have no taste for this sort of work, but a great deal of liking for laziness, flirtation and dissipation. You would conclude from this that three-quarters of young women are vicious, whereas it is your

social mechanism that is vicious. Indeed, if all young women were as enthusiastic about housework as you would like them to be, three-quarters of the female sex would be unsuited to the combined order which will last 70,000 years, because in that order association will make household tasks so much simpler that they will not even require the quarter of women who are occupied with them today; if a quarter, or even a sixth, of women enjoy housework that will be more than enough. God was bound to act in accordance with proportion and create a number of housewives appropriate to the 70,000 years of happiness, rather than to the 5,000 years of misery in which we find ourselves. How could women live harmoniously in the combined order if four hundred of them turned up to perform a task that only needed one hundred? It would mean abandoning the other functions that devolve on them, and all of them would see it as a lack of judgement in God to have given all women the character of housewives when he should have restricted it to a quarter of them.

We must conclude that women are fine as they are, that three-quarters of them are right to reject housework and that the only vices lie in Civilisation and philosophy which are incompatible with the nature of the passions and the views of God, as I shall explain at greater length in the chapter on attraction.

The same argument holds good for all the passions you call vices. You will know from the theory of the combined order that all the elements of our character are good and are wisely distributed, and that what is natural must be developed, not corrected. You see children as compounded entirely of vice because they are greedy, quarrelsome, unpredictable, disobedient, insolent, inquisitive and unmanageable, yet they are the most perfect of us all. A child like that will be the keenest worker in the combined order. At the age of ten he will be promoted to the most eminent children's Series in the canton, and the honour of presiding at parades and at work will make even the worst and most tiring tasks seem like play.

For the present, I admit, these children are pretty intolerable, in fact all children are. But I will not admit that there is anything vicious about them; their so-called vices are the work of nature, and the tendency towards greed and licence you find in all children was given to them by God, who was well able to calculate his plan for the distribution of characteristics. I repeat, the only things vicious

are Civilisation, which does not allow these God-given characteristics to be developed or put to use, and philosophy which is unwilling to admit that the civilised order is opposed to the views of nature as it has to stifle children's most universal inclinations, such as a fondness for greed and disobedience in boys, for laziness and ostentation in girls, as well as those of people of other ages whose inclinations or attractions are all ones which God deemed necessary to fit in with the combined order, which is a synthesis or a development of attraction. It is time now to say something about the structure of attraction, which is something that nobody has ever thought of doing.

On the study of nature by Passionate Attraction

Our desires are so boundless in relation to the limited means we have of satisfying them that God seems to have acted rather thoughtlessly when he gave us passions so eager for pleasure. These passions seem to have been deliberately created to harass us by arousing thousands of desires, not even a tenth of which can be satisfied as long as the civilised order lasts.

Pondering thoughts like these has led moralists to argue that they are rectifying God's work, tempering or repressing the passions they cannot satisfy and sometimes do not even recognise: of the twelve passions which constitute the chief motivating forces of the soul they are only aware of nine, and they have a very inadequate idea of the four most important ones.

The nine known passions are *the five sensual appetites* which hold sway to a greater or lesser degree over everybody, and *the four simple appetites of the soul*, namely:

6th: *The group of friendship*

7th: *The group of love.*

8th: *The group of paternity or family.*

9th: *The group of ambition or corporation.*

The moralists want to give these passions a dynamic contrary to that intended by nature, and have been constantly holding forth over the last 2,000 years about the need to temper and change the five sensual appetites, trying to persuade us that diamonds are worthless stones, that gold is a base metal, that sugar and spice are

cheap, contemptible products and that labourers' cottages and the harsh simplicity of nature are preferable to kings' palaces. Thus moralists have attempted to nullify the sensual passions; and they have been equally hostile to the passions of the soul. The number of times they have vociferated against ambition! To hear them you would think it was wrong to want anything but dull, poorly paid employment, and that, to be morally correct, if a job paid an income of 100,000 livres you should only accept 10,000. Their opinions about love are even more ridiculous: they want it to be governed by constancy and fidelity, which are so incompatible with nature's intentions and so wearisome to both sexes that no creature on earth submits to them if he is totally free.

None of these philosophical whims, known as *duties*, bear any relation to nature. Duty is man-made, attraction comes from God; so if we want to understand God's intentions we have to study attraction, in its natural state, with no reference to duty. Duty varies from one century to another and from place to place, but the nature of the passions has been and will remain unchangeable for all peoples.

As an example of such a study, let us look at the relationship between paternal and filial love.

The moralists want to establish equality of affection between fathers and children and to that end cite sacred duties which are utterly at odds with nature. If we want to reveal nature's wishes we need to forget *what should be*, i.e. duty, and analyse *what is*. We will then recognise that a father's love for his children is about three times as great as their love for him. This disproportion may seem enormous and, on the children's part, unjust, but questions of justice or right behaviour are not relevant when what we are analysing is *what is*, not *what should be*.

If, instead of trying to correct the passions, we try to discover nature's motives in giving the passions a dynamic so different from duty's, it soon becomes clear that these vaunted duties have nothing to do with justice, as witness the issue in question, the disproportion between filial and paternal love. There are, indeed, very plausible grounds for this inequality: children should not return more than a third of their parents' love, for the following reasons.

1st. Until puberty children do not know what paternity and generation mean. When they are at the age where filial affection takes

shape, they cannot understand it or its implications; the nature of the act that constitutes paternity is carefully hidden from them. At that stage, therefore, they are only capable of *sympathetic* love, not *filial* love. We should not require their affection as a form of gratitude for the care taken over their upbringing because that sort of considered acknowledgement is beyond their moral capabilities. It would be very childish to expect such rational love from a being incapable of reflection. Besides, gratitude there is *friendship not filial love*, which young children can neither feel nor understand.

2nd. Children between the ages of seven and fourteen are constantly harried by the admonishments of their parents, with, among the lower classes, the additional element of maltreatment. And as children are not sufficiently rational to appreciate the need for the restraints imposed on them, their affection must grow in response to the kindness they receive. A child's grandfather, or a neighbour, or a servant is often dearer to him than those who gave him life, something which fathers have no right to complain about. If they are wise they must realise that children (for the reasons adduced above) are only capable of *sympathetic love*, and that such love develops in response to the kindness and discrimination which fathers are able to bring to the exercise of their paternal functions.

3rd. When children reach puberty and begin to understand what mothers and fathers do they also perceive the self-interested motives behind parental love. They are loved as a reminder of the pleasures of procreation, for the new hope their birth brings to ambition or failing powers, and for the delight they provide in childhood when they enchant their parents' leisure hours. As a result of acquiring this new understanding children cannot feel greatly indebted to their parents, having given them so much pleasure they themselves were excluded from, and which they are deprived of until they reach adulthood. These ideas tend to cool their affection rather than increasing it. They realise they were conceived through love of pleasure, not love of themselves; that their parents may have conceived them against their wishes, or added to an already over-large family by carelessness, or wanted a child of the opposite sex. So at the period when filial love can begin to develop, in adolescence, the prestige and importance attached to paternity come under attack for a whole range of reasons. If parents have not been able to gain their children's esteem and friendship, they will not see any filial

love develop, even the one-third return at which nature has fixed the debt to parents. But this return will be perceived to be adequate when it is recognised that children's upbringing will cause fathers no problems in the combined order which the globe is moving towards and to which our passions are predisposed.

If meanwhile the difficulty of bringing up children seems to give parents an unlimited right to their children's love, this is because the three attenuating factors I have just pointed out are never taken into consideration.

- 1st. Young children's ignorance about what paternity consists in.
- 2nd. The aversion they experience as they grow older and encounter abuse or misdirected paternal authority.
- 3rd. The contrast they notice in adolescence between the lofty claims of fathers and the non-existent basis they rest on.

Add to these the minor considerations, like paternal favouritism by which children are quite rightly offended, and it becomes clear why the younger generation, as a rule, only feel one-third of the affection lavished on them by the older. If children do feel more than that, it is an effect of sympathy, not ties of blood. Thus children sometimes feel two or three times fonder of one parent than the other: both have equal claims, but one may just have an incompatible personality.

These are truths that civilised people are unwilling to acknowledge or to use as the basis for their social planning. Their experience of pleasure is so impoverished that they need a wealth of illusions, and claim proprietorial rights over the affections of those weaker than themselves. Married men demand that their wives love them faithfully and unreservedly – with what success, we know. Fathers want their children to look up to them as if they were gods, and if they do not receive as much love as they think they deserve, they complain loudly about ingratitude. Lacking real affections, they avidly absorb untruthful images and representations of their lives. They like to be regaled with novels and plays that depict orgies of filial love and conjugal fidelity, no shadow of which is to be found in ordinary families. Civilised men, nourished on moral fantasies of this sort, become incapable of studying the general laws of nature; they see everything through their own capricious and despotic assumptions, so they accuse nature of injustice without

showing any desire to find out what aims and purposes underlie its organisation.

To discover what these aims and purposes are we have to move on from ideas of *duty* to an analysis of that *passionate attraction* which may seem depraved to us, as we do not know what its purpose is, but which, depraved or not, has never been subjected to thorough analysis.

To remind the reader to keep *attraction* separate from *duty* and to study it with a completely open mind, I shall include a new chapter about it, about the *Composite Counter-Movements*, in the third part of this treatise. This will explain that because attraction is *irreducible*, even though it contradicts duty, we must in the end give in to its siren voice and study its laws. For as long as we continue imposing ours upon it, attraction will always make fun of them, to the triumph of God and the confusion of our ever-changing systems.

[The tree of passion and its branches or
powers graduated in first, second, third,
fourth and fifth degrees]^k

Let us begin with the first degree, which has three branches; we shall come to the trunk, or Unityism, later: this is regarded as the source of all the passions, of which there are three at the first level, twelve at the second, and so on.

At the first degree or the first division of the trunk there are three sub-focal passions or centres of Attraction to which human beings of all ranks and in all ages are drawn; these three passions are:

- 1st. *Luxism*, or the desire for luxury.
- 2nd. *Groupism*, or the desire for groups.
- 3rd. *Serism*, or the desire for Series.

Let us examine these by subdividing them according to the number of passions they give rise to at the next level, or the second power,

^k "This chapter is previously unpublished; reading it it is important to remember that the additions in this new edition are not considered authorial emendations but generally mere indications, preliminary notes not even made with the prospect of a new edition in mind. All these additions were put down *currente calamo* and indeed often in abbreviated form." (Editors' note, 1841).

which provides twelve branches which make up the passionate scale, which is analogous to the scale in music.

1st *sub-focus: luxury*. This provides and governs five secondary passions, known as the sensory passions or the desires of the senses.

Luxury is both *internal* and *external*. It is internal as regards the health which guarantees us the full and direct use of each sense; but these cannot be exercised without the aid of wealth. It is no good having a good stomach and a keen appetite if you have not got the price of a meal. Anyone without the money is condemned to starvation, to the indirect obstruction of the senses, and the senses can therefore not achieve full indirect play without the mediation of money, to which everything in Civilisation is subordinated.

The other four senses are in the same position as taste: without the support of wealth their scope is reduced to a minimum. There would be no point in perfecting your ear if you had no money, for you would be denied admission to concerts or to the opera, while you saw coarse people with no ear for music allowed in because they had well-filled purses. Internal luxury or health is therefore not enough to achieve happiness: we also desire external luxury, or wealth, which guarantees the free play of the senses, whereas internal luxury guarantees only their conditional development.

Even the exception here proves the rule. A young woman finds an old man who ensures that she has a happy life, full exercise of certain sensual pleasures, good food, fine clothes and jewels, etc., which previously she lacked. In this case one of the five senses, the fifth, rut-touch, intervenes to provide, by means of wealth, the external exercise of the other four, which would only have had internal exercise or health, a capacity merely, with no chance of positive development, and which, without the aid of the wealth provided by the old man, would have been reduced to all kinds of deprivation, even perhaps of the sense of touch, for the very poor have few means of obtaining the objects of their desire in love.

We can therefore see that luxury is compound rather than simple, both external and internal; this is an important principle to establish in order to show the imprecision of the Physical Sciences in all questions relating to the Unity of Movement, as for example in the debate on the simple or compound nature of light: if that were a simple body, it would have to follow, from the Unity of nature, that

luxury were simple. It is the prime aim of Passionate Attraction, as the pivot of light or the sun is the prime aim of Material Attraction. But luxury being compound, as we have just seen, so also is light, which is at least twofold in the system of nature, coinciding with material and passionate Movement.

2nd *sub-focus: the groups*. This branch provides four secondary, or affective, passions.

- | | |
|-------|-----------------------------------|
| Major | 1. Group of Honour or Corporation |
| | 2. Group of Friendship |
| Minor | 3. Group of Love |
| | 4. Group of Family or Kinship |

Our legislators want to subordinate the social system to the last of these four groups, the Family, which God has almost entirely excluded from influence in Social Harmony, because it is a group of forced or material bonds, not a free, passionate gathering, dissoluble at will.

It is quite appropriate that people whose entire calculations are against the grain of nature should have taken as the pivot of their social mechanism the one group out of the four that will have the least influence, because of its lack of freedom: thus it will have no active use in Harmony save where it is absorbed into the other three and operates through them.

Since all constraint engenders falsehood, it must be established through the influence of the Family group, which is neither free nor indissoluble. Thus both civilised and patriarchal society, where this group is the dominant one, are the most duplicitous. Barbarous society, which is more bloodthirsty and oppressive than ours, is however less duplicitous, being less influenced by the Family group, one of the greatest sources of duplicity to be found in the movement. The indissolubility of its bonds makes it heterogeneous to God's intentions, which are that attraction and freedom should be the only powers governing ties and impulses.

3rd *sub-focus: the Series* or affiliations of groups leagued in Series, enjoying the same properties as geometric Series. This third branch provides three of the twelve secondary passions which are called *distributive* and lead towards a social and domestic mechanism entirely unknown in Civilisation. They were known to primitive society, and they are the lost secret of happiness which has had to be rediscovered. The calculus of Passionate Harmony therefore

needs to be principally concerned with the art of forming and mechanising the Series of groups.

If scholars actually believed in the Unity of the Universe they are always going on about they would have come to believe that, if the whole Universe and all of its created products have been distributed by Series, we must establish a similar order in the play of social and domestic passions if we want to achieve Unity ourselves.

They did not, however, want to admit this analogy, or to induce the necessity for research into the formation of Passionate Series, the secret of which I possess.

However, as I am not revealing it in this book, where I only deal superficially with Series in Note A and in the 2nd Note in the Second part, it seemed pointless to define the three passions that lead to the formation of Series: what would be the use of describing three new incentives without describing the use to be made of them in social and domestic mechanics?

We shall frequently have occasion to draw attention to the division of the twelve secondary passions into five corporal or sensual passions and seven spiritual passions, relating to the soul (the four affective and the three distributive passions), and their collective centre or passionate trunk, Unityism, the passion which includes the three primary branches and is the result of their combined development.

Unityism is the inclination of the individual to harmonise his own happiness with that of everything around him and of the whole human race, which today is so hateful. It is a boundless philanthropy, a universal well-being, which will not be able to develop until the whole human race is rich, free and just, in accord with the three sub-focal passions, for Luxury, Groups and Series, which require:

In their 1st Development, progressive Wealth for the five senses;

In their 2nd Development, absolute Freedom for the four groups;

In their 3rd Development, distributive Justice for the eponymous passions.

As well as these three primary passions, unityism also includes the twelve secondary passions which are contained within the three primary. On this basis it might seem appropriate to compare Unityism

with white light, which contains the seven solar colours. But in fact light rays contain five more colours that are invisible to us and are not observable, pink, fawn, brown, dragoon-green and lilac (I can only be entirely sure of the pink and the brown). White light thus actually contains twelve rays, only seven of which are revealed, just as the musical octave contains twelve notes only seven of which are articulated. It is therefore quite inexact to represent Unityism as a bringing together of the seven passions of the soul, the affective and distributive passions, since such a gathering presupposes the full development of five sensory passions, and consequently the full development of the twelve secondary passions.

This Prospectus does not offer a definition of Unityism, or the root-stock of the passions, but as it is entirely undeveloped in Civilisation all that is necessary is to direct our attention to the counter-passion, or Egotism, which is so universally dominant that ideology, the system of perfectible perfectibility, has made egotism or the *self* the basis of all its calculations. Studies of Civilised Man have as a rule observed nothing but the subversive passions, which have a scale comparable to that of Harmony.

Our scholars are unaware of Unityism and boundless philanthropy. All they have been able to make out instead is that passion's subversive play or counter-development, the mania for subordinating everything to our own individual convenience. Scholars have a number of names for this odious characteristic: the moralists call it Egotism, the ideologues call it the *self*, a new word which says nothing new and is merely a pointless paraphrase of the Egotism that civilised man has always been accused of, and rightly so since his social state, governed by duplicity and oppression, subordinates the twelve secondary passions to Egotism which thus becomes a subversive focus and takes the place of Unityism or the focal harmonic passion.

As our common aim, happiness, is the full development of Unityism, which includes the full development of all the passions, we shall need to simplify our study by relating the argument about development to the three primary passions, Luxism, Groupism and Seriism, or at least limiting it to the twelve secondary passions which are subdivisions of the three primary.

There is no point in going into extended detail about the 32 tertiary passions at this early stage, still less the hundred and thirty-

four quaternary ones, etc., as the complete development of the three primaries assures the full development of the 32 tertiaries and the 134 quaternaries, etc.

In this prospectus, therefore, it will be quite sufficient to speculate on the development of the three primaries, called the sub-focals, and the twelve secondaries, called the radicals of the passionate octave and scale.

We are familiar with the five *sensory* passions tending to Luxury, and the four *affective* passions that draw us towards groups: all we need to do now is to familiarise ourselves with the three *distributives*, the combined development of which produces the Series, the social method whose secret has been lost since the time of the earliest men, who were only able to sustain the Series for about three hundred years. That mechanism has now at last been rediscovered along with the arrangements necessary for its application to large-scale industry.

Put in its simplest form, then, our task is to determine the play of *Serum*, or the third primary passion, because this is the one which holds the other two, *Luxism* and *Groupism*, in balance: without it, they would be permanently at odds with each other.

Harmony between these three produces happiness by assuring the full development of Unityism, the trunk and root-stock of the passions, and creates all the branches of different degrees.

I have told you about the scale or classification of its powers: but let me repeat that the tree which springs from Unityism, a passion unknown in our society, and which is the counter-march of Egoism, provides 3 in the first power, 12 in the second, 32 in the third, 134 in the fourth, and 404 in the fifth, as well as the pivot, which is never counted in Movement.

Temperaments and characteristics are classified according to the same pattern, more or less: there are four temperaments in the second degree in addition to the focus; the fourth degree may vary from thirty to thirty-two, and similarly with the others.

This analysis of the passions, temperaments and characteristics could be taken as far as the sixth, seventh and eighth powers. But at this stage the fifth will be enough to satisfy your curiosity, as that is the one which provides the whole range of the Phalanx of Harmony or Domestic Destiny. I shall have more to say about this in the treatise.

Like the Unity of the metrical and passionate universe, the system of Attraction is faithfully portrayed and followed in sidereal mechanics, where we can see thirty-two keys or planets of the keyboard gravitating in collective mode around Unityism, by the equilibrium and harmony of the vortex and the starry sphere whose centre it occupies. If we look at the subdivisions, starting with those of the first degree, we can see that it gravitates around three sub-foci:

1. Luxury or the solar pivot.
2. The four Groups formed by the four planets with moons.
3. The Series formed by bracketing the four groups and the ambiguous ones on the solar pivot.

We can now move on to outline the twelve passions in the radical octave of the second power.

Passionate Attraction

There are three foci or aims of attraction which human passions tend towards, at all levels of society and in all periods. They are as follows:

- 1st. *Luxury of the five senses.*
- 2nd. *The progressive Series.*
- 3rd. *Universal unity.*

The soul is driven ceaselessly towards these three aims by twelve stimuli, or *radical passions*, which are the roots of all the others. There are:

- 5 *material passions* or sensory appetites which lead us towards luxury.
- 4 *spiritual passions* or simple appetites of the soul which lead us towards links of affection, the four groups I mentioned earlier, and the grouped Series.
- 3 *refining passions* or compound appetites of the soul which lead to social and universal unity.

These last three passions, which I have called *refining* (and which might be better designated by the term *mechanising*) are scarcely known at all to Civilisation. Only a few glimmers have appeared on

the horizon, just enough to arouse the anger of moralists in their relentless war against pleasure. Their influence is so negligible and their appearance so rare that they have not even been separately classified: I have had to call them *intermeshing*, *varying* and *graduating*, but I prefer to designate them by the numbers 10, 11 and 12; and I shall postpone defining them because nobody would imagine that God, for all his power, could ever create a social order capable of satisfying three such insatiable passions for pleasure.

The seven *spiritual* and *refining* passions¹ are more in the realm of the soul than of matter: they are at the *primitive* level. Their combined action creates one collective passion, the product of all seven, in the same way as white is made by the union of the seven colours of the spectrum. I shall call this thirteenth passion *harmonyism* [or unityism]. It is even more unknown than the tenth, eleventh and twelfth, which I have said nothing about, but it is possible to consider their general influence without knowing anything specific about them. This is what I am going to do.

Although these four passions – tenth, eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth – are stifled and suppressed completely by the conventions of our Civilisation, the germ of their existence continues to live in our souls, tiring or stimulating us according to individual levels of activity. That is why so many civilised men spend their lives in boredom, even though they may possess everything they desire. Caesar is a good example: he became ruler of the world and yet was amazed to find that his exalted position brought him nothing but boredom and emptiness. The sole reason for Caesar's malaise was the influence of the four suppressed passions, especially the thirteenth which exercised a very potent stimulus on his soul. This was exacerbated by the fact that, having attained this supreme rank, he had nothing left to desire, nothing to distract him or divert him from the controlling force of the thirteenth passion.

Almost all the great men of Civilisation have suffered the same misfortune. Their souls are powerfully disturbed by the four passions having no chance to develop. It is hardly surprising, then, that ordinary people are generally more satisfied with a modicum of happiness than the great tend to be with their resplendent pleasures. These much-vaunted trappings of greatness – the throne, sov-

¹ 'the seven affective and distributive passions' (1841).

ereignty, etc. — are certainly real advantages, whatever the philosophers say, but they characteristically irritate the four suppressed passions instead of satisfying them, which is why the middle class can extract more enjoyment from fewer resources. Its bourgeois habits really only act as an irritant to the first nine passions, which are allowed a degree of development in the civilised order, whereas no scope at all is permitted to the three refining passions or to harmonyism.

By and large the influence of the three refining passions produces the sort of people who are accused of corruption, and labelled libertines, debauchees, etc. The thirteenth, or harmonyism, produces people regarded as geniuses or eccentrics, people who seem ill at ease in their surroundings and who cannot adapt to the customs of Civilisation.

Barbarians are entirely unaware of these four passions, as their state of society does not arouse them at all; they are therefore more content than we would be with their brutal customs which derive from the nine physical and spiritual passions, the only ones they feel.

In short, the reason why the human race can only find perfect happiness in grouped Series or the combined order is that it assures the full development of the twelve radical passions, and thus of the thirteenth which is a composite of the principal ones. Whence it follows that, in the new social order, the least fortunate men or women will be far happier than the greatest king is today, because the only true happiness consists in satisfying all one's passions.

The twelve radical passions are subdivided into a host of subtle variations which exercise a greater or lesser influence over every individual. This results in an infinite variety of characters, all of which, however, can be related to the eight hundred principal types. Nature distributes these randomly among the children of both sexes, such that eight hundred randomly chosen children could provide the germ of all perfection that the human spirit can attain to. Each one, that is, will be naturally endowed with abilities sufficient to equal some outstanding historical figure such as Homer, Caesar, Newton, etc. Thus if we divide the 36-million-strong population of France by 800, we shall find that it contains 45,000 individuals capable of equalling Homer, 45,000 capable of equalling Demosthenes, etc., if only they had been taken up at the age of three

and given a natural education to develop every germ distributed by Nature. But this education can only happen in progressive Series or the combined order. Then, given that France alone will provide 45,000 of each type of famous person, you can imagine the abundance there will be in the new order. When the globe is organised and its population has reached the grand total of 3 thousand million, there will normally be 37 million poets equal to Homer, 37 million geometricians equal to Newton, 37 million dramatists equal to Molière, and so on through all the talents imaginable. (These estimates are approximate.)

It is therefore a great mistake to think of nature as miserly with her talents: she is prodigal far beyond our needs or desires. But you have to be able to uncover the seeds and develop them, and you still know as little about that as savages do about finding and exploiting mines. You have no skill, no touchstone that will enable you to see what nature has destined people to be, what seeds have been planted in their souls. Each germ is stifled and repressed by civilised education so that scarcely one in a million escapes. The art of finding them is one of the thousands of marvellous things you will learn from the theory of progressive Series, in which every individual will develop and perfect all the different embryonic talents distributed by nature.

Given that the eight hundred characters are distributed among children at random, it is not surprising that sons often differ so radically from their fathers (as witness the proverb: 'Miserly father, spendthrift son'). This leads to a constant reversal of family interests: a father builds up a business by hard work and at great cost, and then his son, whose interests are entirely different, neglects it, lets it run down and finally sells it. Thus there are endless perorations against nature on the part of fathers. The new social order will justify all nature's apparent injustices, including the most shocking ones like the abandonment of the poor, who are the less protected for being in greater need of aid and work while the rich, who lack for nothing, are swamped with fortune's favours and offers of jobs. The influence of such an evil genius is evident in all branches of Civilisation, revealing nature everywhere bent on harrying the poor, the weak and the just. On all sides we are made aware of the absence of a divine providence, and the permanent reign of the demonic spirit that allows enough occasional glimmers of justice

for us to recognise that justice has been banished from civilised and barbarous societies:

Je ne sais, de tout temps, quelle injuste puissance
Laisse la paix au crime et poursuit l'innocence . . .
Autour de moi, si je jette les yeux,
Je ne vois que malheurs qui condamnent les Dieux.
[Racine, *Andromaque*]³

These temporary disorders will come to appear extremely wise arrangements when the theory of attraction has enabled you to recognise that the civilised order has the capacity to develop the twelve radical passions in *complete counter-march*, constantly producing as many iniquities and horrors as these passions would produce justice and benefits in their forward march and combined development. You will admire the unbroken series of calamities with which God overwhelms you, and which will continue as long as you persist in living in industrial incoherence, and you will realise that the apparent illogicality of the operation of the passions stems from the profound designs by which God is preparing you for immense happiness in the combined order. Finally you will see that passionate attraction, accused by your philosophers of depravity and corruption, is the wisest and most wonderful of all God's works. It alone, operating with no constraint and on no basis except the allurements of sensual pleasure, will establish universal unity across the globe and cause wars, revolutions, poverty and injustice to disappear for the duration of the seventy-thousand-year period of social harmony which we shall enter. I now return to the incoherent societies in which we are living at the moment.

Characteristics, intermeshing and phases of the social periods

Every social period has a fixed number of constituent characteristics or properties; *religious tolerance*, for example, is characteristic of the

³ 'I do not know what unjust power has always
Left the criminal in peace and pursued the innocent. . .
If I look around me, all I see
Are miseries and misfortunes which condemn the Gods'
Act III, scene 1 (slightly misquoted).

sixth period and not of the fifth, *hereditary kingship* is characteristic of the fifth and not of the fourth, etc.

To say that the characteristics are drawn from the operation of the seven primitive passions, and that they vary in number according to the periods, would be to arouse a desire for a definition of the seven primitive or radical passions which I do not want to deal with in this first treatise. So limiting discussion to Civilisation, or the fifth period, I will say that it has sixteen characteristics, fourteen of which are drawn from the backwards and forwards operation of the seven primitive passions, and two from the inverse development of the passion of *harmonyism*.

Every society is to a greater or lesser degree a mixture of characteristics borrowed from the previous or subsequent periods. For example, the French have recently adopted the *unity of industrial and administrative relations*: this method, which is one of the characteristics of the sixth period, was introduced by the uniform metric system and the Napoleonic civil code, two institutions which run contrary to the civilised order, one of the characteristics of which is *incoherence of industrial and administrative relations*. In this area we have therefore *departed from Civilisation and enmeshed with the sixth period*. We have enmeshed with it at other points, too, notably through *religious tolerance*. The English, who practise an intolerance worthy of the twelfth century, are more civilised than we are in this respect. The Germans are also more civilised than we are, in terms of the incoherence of law, custom and industrial relations: everywhere one goes in Germany one finds different measures, different coins, and different laws and practices, as a result of which strangers can be much more easily tricked and robbed than would be the case if measures, coin, criminal code, etc., were unified. This chaos favours the civilised mechanism, as its aim is to raise deception to the highest level. It is what the fullest development of the sixteen special characteristics of Civilisation should lead to.

Yet philosophers claim 'that we have improved Civilisation by adopting religious tolerance and industrial and administrative unity'. This is to put it very badly: what they should say is that '*we have improved the social order and damaged Civilisation*'; indeed if they gradually adopted all sixteen characteristics of the sixth period it would result in the complete annihilation of Civilisation. They would have destroyed it in the belief that they were improving

it. The social order would be better organised, but they would be in the sixth period, not the fifth. These distinctions of characteristic lead us to the entertaining conclusion that *the paucity of good that is to be found in the civilised order is simply due to the contrary arrangements of Civilisation.*

And if we want to make Civilisation even worse, we need to add some characteristics of the patriarchate which are most compatible with it, for example, *the freedom of commerce*, or the freedom to sell false weights and false measures, or to provide false commodities, like polished stones inside a shot casing. All these tricks are legally permitted in China where all merchants give false measure and sell false goods with impunity. You buy a fine-looking ham in Canton and when you carve it you find nothing but a mass of earth cunningly wrapped in slices of meat. Every merchant has three sets of scales: one weighing light to trick purchasers, one weighing heavy to trick salesmen, and one weighing correctly for his own use. If you are taken in by this deception, the magistrates and the public will laugh at you and tell you that there is commercial freedom in China, and that this so-called vice has sustained the vast Chinese empire for 4,000 years, more successfully than any empire in Europe. We may conclude from this that the patriarchate and Civilisation have nothing to do with truth or justice, and can sustain themselves perfectly well without providing access to truth or justice, the exercise of which is incompatible with the character of those two societies.

Although I have not described the characteristics of different periods I have given some indication of how every period often adopts those of earlier or later ones. It is incontrovertibly a misfortune to introduce characteristics from earlier periods, such as the *legal admission of false measure*, borrowed from the third period, or the *affiliation of clubs*, which is a civil janissariat, and enmeshes with the fourth period, or Barbarism.

It is not always an advantage to introduce characteristics from a later period. In some cases they can be distorted by this political transplantation, with unfortunate effects, as in the case of *free divorce* which is a sixth-period characteristic, and which has produced so much disorder in Civilisation that very strict limits have had to be imposed to it. Yet in the sixth period free divorce is a very salutary practice and contributes greatly to domestic harmony,

but this is because it is combined with other characteristics which do not exist in Civilisation. It can therefore be seen that precautions must be taken when a characteristic is transplanted from one period to another, in the same way as when a plant is moved to a climate that is not its own. It is a mistake to believe that unlimited religious tolerance can suit civilised man; in the long term it would produce more ill effects than good in agricultural states, if it were not that it excludes religions that uphold the customs of the fourth, third and second periods, such as Mohammedanism, Judaism and idolatry. It would make no difference if they were admitted now, as Civilisation is close to its end.

Every incoherent society feels to some extent in need of the characteristics of the next period, and none more keenly than Civilisation, which is overtly critical of its own characteristics, for example of *the duplicity* which governs matters of love: plays, novels and salons resound with mockery of it, as the same jokes, worn-out by frequent repetition, reappear day after day as if they were new. These are principally aimed at women, inappropriately so, as each sex strives to outdo the other in the self-deception with which they conduct their affairs. If men seem less deceitful it is because the law allows them greater latitude and regards as gallantry in them what in the weaker sex it deems a crime. It may be objected that the consequences of infidelity are very different in the two sexes, but they are the same if the woman is sterile, or if she keeps her child without attributing its paternity to the father. If the law had given women the right to free love in such cases we would have seen a decline in sexual duplicity, object of our unjust jibes, and it would have been both possible and practicable to adopt free divorce; but as it is, civilised man, because of his tyrannical attitude towards women, has failed to make the transition to the sixth period to which the above-mentioned law would have led him.

A much easier way of leading men and women alike to complete freedom and openness in affairs of love, and of bringing the whole social body to sexual freedom, is by an indirect and purely economic operation: the *progressive household* or *nine-group tribe*, which is the domestic order of the seventh social period, which I shall be talking about in the second part.

In every period there is a characteristic which forms the *Pivot of the mechanism* and whose presence or absence determines the change

of period. This characteristic is always concerned with love: in the fourth period it is the *absolute servitude of women*; in the fifth, *exclusive marriage and the wife's civil liberties*; in the sixth it is the *amorous corporation* that ensures women the privilege I spoke of earlier. If barbarians were to adopt *exclusive marriage* they would very soon become civilised as a result of that one innovation; if we adopted the *confinement and sale of women* we would rapidly become barbarians as a result of that one innovation; and if we were to adopt *amorous guarantees* of the sort that will become established in the sixth period we would, by this measure alone, find an escape from Civilisation and an entry into the sixth period.

As a general rule the pivotal characteristic, which is always taken from amorous custom, leads automatically to the creation of all the others, but the secondary characteristics cannot give rise to the pivotal one, and they can only bring about a change of period very slowly. Barbarians could adopt up to twelve of the sixteen civilised characteristics and still remain barbarians if they failed to adopt the pivotal characteristic, *the civil liberty of an exclusive wife*.

The reason why God has given amorous custom so much influence over the social mechanism and the transformations it undergoes is because he abhors violence and oppression. It was his will that the happiness or unhappiness of human societies should be proportionate to the degree of constraint or liberty they allowed. But God only acknowledges freedom that encompasses both sexes, not merely one, and therefore he decided that those seed-beds of social atrocity, savagery, barbarism and Civilisation, should only have a single pivot, the subjection of women; and that all the periods which produce social well-being, like the sixth, seventh and eighth periods, should have no pivot, no point of orientation, except the progressive liberation of the weaker sex.

These are truths that the inhabitants of Civilisation will remain unaware of. They judge women according to current attitudes, according to the dissimulation our customs force upon them by refusing them freedom. They believe duplicity to be the natural, unchanging attribute of the female sex. Yet if we can already see such a marked difference between the women in our capital cities and concubines in a seraglio, who think of themselves as automata created for men's pleasure, how much greater a difference would there be between our ladies and those of a truly civilised nation in which the female sex was elevated to complete freedom! And what

characteristics would freedom develop among such women? These are questions the philosophers are careful never to raise; actuated by a spirit of oppression, a secret antipathy to women, they dull women's minds with insipid compliments so they never question their servitude. They stifle even the idea of finding out how women might behave in a social order which would diminish their bondage.

There are always four phases in each of the thirty-two periods of the Social Movement. Consequently, every social period, whether barbarism, Civilisation or whatever, can be divided into four ages: *infancy*, *growth*, *decline* and *decrepitude*, or *decay*. In the third part of this treatise I shall provide a table of the four phases of Civilisation; it is currently in the third phase, in *decline*, a term which I shall explain.

A society can fall into decline as an effect of its social progress. The savages of the Sandwich Islands and of Ohio who adopt some elements of agricultural or manufacturing industry are obviously improving the social state, but by the same token they are distancing themselves from the savage order, which numbers among its characteristics *an aversion to agriculture*. These tribes in the Sandwich Islands and Ohio thus reveal a savagery in decline as a consequence of social improvement.

In the same way we can say that the Ottomans are barbarians in decline, because they are adopting various characteristics of Civilisation, such as a hereditary monarchy and other customs which, being close to civilised practices, constitute a decline of barbarism. Before Selim was deposed they had adopted military tactics characteristic of Civilisation: they improved their barbarism by suppressing the organised troops, the adoption of which was an anti-barbarian measure and an enmeshing with Civilisation.

These examples should suffice to explain what I said above, namely *that a society can fall into decline as an effect of social progress*.

The first, second and third societies deteriorate as they decline because their decline brings them closer to the fourth, barbarism, which is the worst of all. But the fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh societies gain ground as they decline because their decline brings them closer to the eighth, which is the gateway to the combined order.

The four phases of infancy, growth, decline and decay each have particular attributes. For example, the first phase of Civilisation is marked by *exclusive marriage combined with the slavery of agricultural*

workers; that was the order which existed among the Greeks and Romans, who were only in the first phase of Civilisation. The second and third phases also have their own attributes; when I indicate the attributes of the four phases of Civilisation, it will be clear that the philosophers have attempted to retard it and keep it in the phase of infancy, that it is only chance which has led us from the first to the second, and from the second to the third phase, and that following this progress the philosophers have been sufficiently skilful to claim responsibility for improvements which they never dreamed of until led to them by the workings of chance.

I have already proved this by observing that no Greek or Roman philosopher put forward plans for the emancipation of slaves; they never concerned themselves with the condition of those wretches Vedio Pollio fed alive to his lampreys for the slightest misdemeanour, or with the thousands slaughtered by the Spartans to reduce their numbers when they multiplied too quickly. Never did the philanthropists of Athens or Rome condescend to take an interest in their fate, or protest against these atrocities. In that epoch they believed that Civilisation could not exist without slaves; and philosophers still believe that social science has reached its ultimate state, and that the best we know is the best there can ever be. Thus, seeing that the civilised order is a little less bad than the savage or barbarous orders, they have concluded that Civilisation is the best possible society and that it is impossible to discover any other kind.

Between the different social periods there are *mixed* or *hybrid* societies, which are equally divided between the characteristics of several periods. Russian society is a mixture of fourth and fifth periods, of barbarism and Civilisation. Chinese society is the most curious on the globe, as far as being mixed is concerned, because it contains characteristics of patriarchate, barbarism and Civilisation in almost equal quantity. The Chinese are therefore neither patriarchal, nor barbaric, nor civilised.

Mixed societies like the Russian and the Chinese have the properties of cross-bred animals like the mule: they have more vices but also more vigour than the original societies which they are divided between.

It is extremely rare, indeed almost impossible, to find a *pure* society, unadulterated, and with no characteristics borrowed from earlier or later periods. I have said that the barbarians of Asia have

almost all adopted hereditary monarchies, a characteristic of Civilisation and a departure from the barbaric order, which is purest in Algiers where the throne belongs legally to the first occupant. I have already remarked that our society includes several ultra-civilised arrangements, and I shall end on this proposition, which would require a complete exposition of the characteristics of every period, particularly of the sixteen characteristics of Civilisation, and the special attributes of the four phases of each period

On the happiness and unhappiness of globes during the phases of social incoherence

Happiness, about which so much, or rather so much nonsense, has been talked, consists in having many passions and many means of satisfying them. We have few passions and hardly sufficient means to satisfy a quarter of them; this is why our globe is *for the moment* one of the most miserable in the universe. Other planets may perhaps experience equal unhappiness, but none can suffer more, and the theory of movement will prove that God, despite his power, cannot invent more refined social torments than the ones we endure on this miserable globe.

I shall not provide any further enlightenment on this subject, save to observe that the most unhappy planet of a vortex is not always the poorest. Venus is poorer than we are, and Mars and the three new planets are even poorer, yet their lot is less distressing than ours, for the following reason.

The most unfortunate star is that whose inhabitants have passions disproportionate to the means of enjoying them: this is the vice which *at present* afflicts our globe. It renders the situation of the human race so wearisome that signs of discontent are visible at every level, even that of sovereigns who, enjoying a universally envied position, still complain of unhappiness, despite being free to change places with any of their subjects.

I explained the reason for this temporary malaise earlier: God gave our passions an intensity suited to the two phases of combined order, comprising roughly seventy thousand years, in the course of which each new day will provide pleasures so active and so various that our souls will scarcely be able to cope with them; we shall be obliged methodically to refine children's passions to make them

ready to taste the countless pleasures which the new social order will bring with it.

If our destiny extended no further than the wretchedness of Civilisation, God would have given us listless, apathetic passions of the sort recommended by philosophers, passions appropriate to the miserable existence of the last five thousand years. But their vitality, which we complain about, is the guarantee of our future happiness. God had to shape our souls for the ages of happiness which will last seven times longer than the ages of unhappiness. The prospect of five or six thousand years of preparatory torment was not enough of a motive to decide God to give us lifeless, philosophical passions which would have suited the miseries of Civilisation or barbarism but which would have been entirely inappropriate to the seventy thousand years of combined order we are going to pass into. From today, therefore, we should give thanks to God for the intensity of our passions, of which we were so absurdly critical while we were ignorant of the social order which could develop and satisfy them.

Ought God to have obviated our ignorance by granting us the faculty of glimpsing our glorious destiny? Certainly not. That knowledge would have been a source of continual sorrow for our forebears because the imperfect state of their industry would necessarily have kept them in the incoherent order. Being able to foresee the happiness the future held in store, they would nonetheless have fallen into savagery, for there could be no possibility of organising the combined order before industry and luxury were raised to a much higher level, far beyond the capacity of the 1st period. Many centuries were needed to create the abundance the combined order requires; and our forefathers would not have been willing to improve industry for the benefit of generations who would not be born for several thousand years. People would have been gripped by a general apathy; no man would have wanted to work to prepare for a state of well-being so distant that neither the living nor their children's children could hope to enjoy it. Even with the much-vaunted rationalism of today, people are reluctant to embark on some enterprises, such as forest plantation, because the enjoyment of their benefits is a generation away; so how could our forefathers have agreed to work on projects whose fruits would not be available for more than a thousand years? Because a period of at least twenty centuries was needed to raise industry, science and the arts to the

degree of improvement required to construct the combined order.

So what would have happened if the first men had foreseen this future social harmony and realised that it would not be created without very many centuries of industrial progress? It is very probable that, far from working for a future twenty centuries removed, they would have taken pleasure in putting obstacles in its way, and that they would all have agreed in saying, 'Why should we now be the servants of people who will not be born for another two thousand years? Let us abandon, let us stifle at birth, this industry that only they will benefit from; we are to be denied the happiness reserved for the combined order, so why should our successors be any better off in two thousand or twenty thousand years? Let them live as we have lived.' Is this not how human nature operates, as witness the way fathers carp at their children for enjoying levels of luxury they never had when they were young? Nobody would want to work for their heirs if they thought they would never live to enjoy the fruits of their labours themselves. The reason why I can announce the proximity of universal harmony with so much assurance is that the organisation of the societary state requires no more than two years from the time when a canton prepares the buildings and plants the crops; this wonderful social order will be created immediately, as long as the arrangements have been made somewhere, and there are buildings and fields that can be allocated to a phalanx of progressive Series. So given that the preparation of the first canton will take, at most, two years, and that even the most decrepit old men can always hope for another two years, they will be pleased at the idea of organising progressive Series and seeing them before they die, adapting Simeon's canticle perhaps: 'O Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen the birth of the social order thou hast prepared for the salvation of all peoples.'

Now, too, man can quit life without regret in certain knowledge of the soul's immortality, an assurance which only the invention of the laws of Social Movement has made possible. Hitherto we have had such vague notions of the afterlife, and such frightening pictures of it, that immortality has been more a cause of terror than a consolation. Belief was very weak, nor was there any reason to suppose it would become stronger. God does not allow globes that are still in the incoherent order to acquire definite ideas about the

afterlife of the soul, because if everyone was convinced of it all the poorest members of Civilisation would kill themselves the moment they were assured of having another life, as it could not be worse than this one is for them. Only the rich would be left, and they would have neither the desire nor the ability to take over the thankless functions of the poor. With the death of all those who bore its burden, civilised industry would collapse, and that globe would remain permanently in the savage state, simply because of a belief in eternal life.

But God needs to retain civilised and barbarous societies for a certain time as a route to other and better ones, and so he has had to keep us in profound ignorance of immortality during Civilisation; he had to ensure that calculations of the certainty of another life were identical with those providing the means of rising to a better state than barbarism or Civilisation, for the duration of the period when most wage-earners [and slaves] would have committed suicide if they could have counted with absolute certainty on an afterlife which they saw simply as an opportunity to escape from appalling poverty.

This question of the pleasure reserved for souls in another life reveals civilised man's absolute ignorance of nature's perspectives. How little you know, when you place future happiness in the separation of the spiritual from material! And when you claim that souls, at the death of the body, abandon the material form without the assistance of which not even God would experience pleasure! The only enlightenment it is appropriate to give you on the subject of the afterlife is to correct your mistaken view that there is some disharmony between the living and the dead. Stop believing that the souls of the dead have nothing to do with this world: there are connections and relations between the two sorts of life; it will be demonstrated to you that the souls of the dead vegetate in a state of apathy and anxiety which ours will join in after this life until the present order of the globe is improved. As long as the earth remains in social chaos, so far removed from God's designs, the souls of its inhabitants will suffer in the afterlife as they do in this one; the happiness of the dead will only begin, like that of the living, when the horrors of the savage, barbarous and civilised states have ended.

This revelation might be irritating, or even unbearable, if there was any difficulty about organising this combined order, with its promise of happiness for the dead and the living; but the fact that it is extremely easy to establish the new order gives particular value to the theories which remove our illusions about the afterlife, where all we would have done hitherto would be to share the unease and disquiet which the souls of our forefathers are burdened with, as they wait for the societary organisation of the globe.

By making you aware of the fate which awaits your souls in the various worlds they will pass through during eternity, the theory of Social Movement will explain that after this life souls are reunited with matter, and are never cut off from material pleasures. It is not the place here to discuss this issue, nor to talk about why we temporarily lose the memory of their previous existence, of what they did before this life. Where were they before they inhabited our bodies? God creates nothing out of nothing and so cannot have made our souls out of nothing: and if you believe that they have no pre-corporeal existence you are very close to believing that they return to the void from which your prejudices would have them emerge. Civilised man exposes his inconsistency when he argues that the soul can be immortal after life, but not before it. Barbarians and savages are closer to the truth in their crude tales of metempsychosis, a dogma which though muddled does include the following two points: first, souls are not created out of nothing, and second, souls are not separated from matter either before or after this life. At least two glimmers of truth are therefore to be found in the popular fictions of barbarism, nor is this the first time that brute nations have shown more good sense than Civilisation in its pride. For all civilised men's boasting about perfectibility, every improvement results in them getting bogged down more and more deeply in the darkness of ethics, politics and metaphysics, and running the risk of spending another thousand years wallowing in the mire of Civilisation.

P.S. In this outline I have avoided mentioning anything about the *animal* and *organic* movements, which I do not intend to explain until later treatises, as it is necessary first to understand the Theory of *Social Movement*, which they are co-ordinated with. But as some desire for a note on the two animal and organic movements has

been expressed, with some examples to support their definition, I shall comply by appending a chapter to the third section, dealing with the hieroglyphic relationship between these two movements and the human passions and social mechanism.

Epilogue: On the proximity of the social metamorphosis

What suspicions are likely to be aroused in people's minds as they reflect on this outline of past and future revolutions! At first they will be torn between curiosity and distrust, attracted by the idea of penetrating the mysteries of nature but afraid of being taken in by a clever fiction. Reason will tell them to doubt, while passion urges them to believe. Amazed to see a mere mortal unrolling the map of divine decrees before their eyes, providing a survey of eternity past and future, they will succumb to curiosity, they will tremble at the idea that a man has finally been able to

Dérober au destin ses augustes secrets;†

and before the announcement of the experiment, even before the publication of my theory, I may well have more disciples to calm down than sceptics to convince.

The idea of the General Destinies I have just sketched in is too superficial not to provoke hundreds of objections, all of which I can foresee because they have frequently been raised in lectures where I have been able to provide much fuller answers than I am able to do in this treatise. So it would be quite pointless for me to try to allay these doubts until after I have explained the mechanism of *progressive Series*, which will clarify whatever is obscure and settle all conceivable objections.

Until then I shall do no more than remind you that the first two treatises will not be concerned with the theory of Social Movement.

† 'Unlock the majestic secrets of destiny.'

Their only purpose will be to gratify people's impatience by providing a few glimpses of what people want to know (as I have done in the introduction), outlining the impending consequences of the combined order, and satisfying those enthusiasts who want to anticipate the publication of the treatise by receiving some indications that the theory of the destinies really has been discovered.

We are always prepared to believe in what we desire, and many readers will have complete trust in the discovery without expecting any fuller explanation; and it is because I want to sustain their hopes and strengthen the hope of those who are still hesitant that I have laid so much stress on the ease with which humankind can move immediately to the combined order. It is so easy in fact that this year — 1808 — could see the beginning of the organisation of the globe; if a prince were to employ one of the armies now inactive as result of the peace in a prototype canton, setting twenty thousand men to the preparatory work needed, they could, by transplanting the trees with their roots still in their native soil (as they do in Paris), and by only building in brick, they could speed the process up so much that the first *phalanx of progressive Series* would be in operation by the end of spring 1808. Then the chaos of savagery, barbarism and Civilisation would vanish instantly from the earth, taking with them the unanimous curses of mankind.

This shows how entirely right we are to shake off the lethargy, the apathetic resignation to misfortune and the discouragement spread by the philosophic dogmas that argue that providence has no influence over the social mechanism and that the human spirit has no power to determine our future destination.

For if the calculus of future events is beyond the grasp of man, whence comes the obsessive desire, common to all peoples, to probe the destinies, at the name of which even the most glacially detached individuals feel a trembling of impatience? This shows how impossible it is to eradicate the passion to know the future from the human heart. Why should God, who never does anything without a purpose, give us this burning desire, if he had not provided the means for satisfying it one day? Now at last that day has come, and mortals will share with God a foreknowledge of future events; and I have offered you this slender glimpse of them so that you will conclude that, as this wonderful and much-desired knowledge has to do with the theory of *agricultural association and passionate attraction*,

nothing is more worthy of stimulating your curiosity than the theory of association and attraction which is about to be communicated to you in the following treatises, and which will open for you the great book of the eternal decrees.

According to the philosophers, 'Nature is concealed under a brazen veil, that the united efforts of men and ages can never lift up the extremity of this covering.'⁵ A very useful sophism for ignorance and vanity, trying to persuade people, as it does, that what has not been done can never be done. If nature is veiled, it is not with brass but with gauze; Newton's discovery of the fourth branch of her mysteries is an indication that we were not meant to be denied knowledge of the other three branches. When a beauty grants her lover one favour he would be very foolish to think she will not grant him any more. Why then have the philosophers given up on nature when she aroused them by letting them lift up a corner of her veil?

They boast about shedding streams of light everywhere, but where is this enlightenment's source? It cannot be in nature because nature, they say, is 'impenetrable to them and covered in a veil of brass'. It is in radiant paradoxes like this that the philosophers communicate their own discouragement and persuade humankind that where their science has been unable to discover anything there is nothing to be discovered.

Yet for all the incompetence of guides such as these, the social order still makes some progress, as in the abolition of slavery; but how slowly it recognises the good and puts it into practice! Twenty centuries of scientific knowledge elapsed before the slightest amelioration in the lot of slaves was proposed. Thus it takes thousands of years for them to open our eyes to a truth, and suggest an act of justice! Our sciences, which pride themselves on love for the people, are utterly bankrupt when it comes to protecting them; modern attempts to emancipate the negroes have achieved nothing but bloodshed and exacerbation of the misery of those it was designed to help, and people are still unaware of the methods of emancipation, although modern customs have shown it to be a possibility.

⁵ *Travels of Anacharsis the Younger in Greece during the middle of the fourth century before the Christian Era*, Abbé Barthélemy. Translated from the French. Second edition (7 vols.), London, 1794, Vol. III, p. 149.

I repeat, we owe what little social progress we have made to chance, not to moral and political science. But chance only allows these discoveries at the cost of centuries of tumultuous failed attempts. The progress of our societies is rather like that of the sloth, whose every step is marked by a groan; like the sloth, Civilisation moves forward with unimaginable slowness, from one political torment to the next. It tries new systems in each generation but, like thorn-bushes, all they do is stain the people who grasp them with blood.

Wretched nations, you are very close to the great metamorphosis which seemed to be announced by a universal upheaval. Today the present is indeed pregnant with the future, and excessive suffering must be leading towards the moment of salvation. From the continual sequence of vast political tremors it looks as if nature is straining to shake off an oppressive burden. Wars and revolutions are constantly flaring up in every corner of the globe; no sooner is one disturbance warded off than another rises from its ashes, like the Hydra's heads multiplying beneath Hercules' sword. Peace is no more than a glimmer, a momentary dream. Industry has become a torturer of whole peoples, with an island of buccaneers impeding communications, demoralising the cultivation of both continents and transforming their workshops into breeding-grounds for beggars. Colonial ambitions have created a new, smouldering volcano; the implacable fury of the negroes will soon turn America into a huge graveyard, avenging the annihilated native races by torturing their conquerors. The mercantile spirit has opened new opportunities for crime; with every war its ravages extend over both hemispheres and take the scandal of Civilisation's greed into the heart of the savage regions. Our ships circumnavigate the globe for no other reason than to make barbarians and savages party to our vices and our furies. Civilisation does indeed become more hateful as it approaches its fall. All the Earth offers today is hideous political chaos which demands the strength of a new Hercules to purge it of the social monstrosities which disfigure it.

This new Hercules is here. His great labours have already caused his name to resound from pole to pole, and humanity, accustomed by him to the sight of marvellous deeds, awaits a miracle which will alter the fate of the world. Peoples, your presentiments will soon be realised. The most glorious mission is reserved for the

greatest of heroes. He it is who shall raise universal harmony on the ruins of barbarism and Civilisation. Breathe again, forget your former sorrows. Rejoice, for a happy discovery at last brings you the *Social Compass*^m which you might have discovered on a thousand occasions if you had not all been so moulded by godlessness, so culpably distrustful of providence. Learn (and I cannot repeat this often enough) that it had above all to *deal with the organisation of the social mechanism* because that is the noblest branch of the universal movement whose direction belongs entirely and alone to God.

Instead of acknowledging the truth of this, instead of devoting yourselves to discovering what God's designs for the social order are and how he can reveal them to us, you have rejected every argument which might have admitted God's intervention in human affairs. You have vilified and defamed *passionate attraction*, the eternal interpreter of his decrees, and entrusted yourselves to the guidance of the philosophers who tried to relegate the divinity to a level below their own, arrogating his highest function to themselves by setting themselves up as regulators of Social Movement. To cover them in shame, God allowed humanity to bathe in blood, under their auspices, for twenty-three scientific centuries, and to run the full gamut of misery, ineptitude and crime. And as a final disgrace God has decided that these modern Titans should be brought down by a discoverer from outside the realm of the sciences, and that it should fall to the lot of a near-illiterate to reveal the theory of universal movement. It is a shop-sergeant who is going to confound all the voluminous writings of the politicians and moralists, the shameful products of ancient and modern quackery. And this is not the first time that God has made use of the humble to put down the proud and mighty, nor the first time that he has chosen the obscurest man to bring the most important message to the world.

End of the first part

^m *The Social Compass*. This name is extremely appropriate for the *progressive series* because this simple operation resolves all conceivable problems of social happiness, and is enough on its own to guide human politics through the labyrinth of the passions, just as a compass needle is enough on its own to guide ships through the darkness of storms and the vastness of the seas

Second Part

Descriptions of the various branches of the private or domestic destinies

Argument

There is light on the horizon: we are moving on to dissertations which will contain nothing scientific and which will be comprehensible to everybody.

In the first part I gave the curious a glimpse of the great phenomena to come. Here, for pleasure-lovers, is a glimpse of the various pleasures which the combined order can permit them to enjoy *in this present generation*, as soon as it is organised. I emphasise how close at hand this good fortune is because nobody likes delays where pleasure is concerned, especially in a time when so much unhappiness has made everyone so eager for it.

By giving some advance sketches of the happiness that is impending, my already expressed intention is to awaken the reader's interest in the theory of *association* and *attraction* which promises so many delights, and to make him want the theory to be practicable. As people come to desire the truth and accuracy of the calculus, they will gradually get used to examining and studying this attraction on which such large hopes are founded.

Accordingly, I intend to reveal my theory just a little at a time, disseminating it imperceptibly in each treatise, only bringing it all together as a body of doctrine later. In brief, I mean to make the amounts of theory proportionate to the amount of curiosity I am

able to arouse. I believe these precautions are necessary in order to ensure a welcome for a treatise which would be ignored, like all metaphysics, if I suddenly produced it all at once, without preparing the way.

My difficulty in providing some outline descriptions of the combined order will lie not in finding enough to say, but in keeping the picture sketchy, in only lifting a corner of the curtain. If these pictures were presented without a degree of caution they would, as I have said, arouse too much enthusiasm, especially among women; and my aim is to make my readers think rationally, not to titillate them, as I would if I allowed them to see the full glory of the combined order.

So in the sketches that follow I shall gloss over anything to do with pleasure, and only bring it to your attention where it is necessary for the critique of the tedium or absurdity of Civilisation. The viewpoint will be derived from two descriptive accounts: the first, drawn from the seventh period, will deal with household pleasures in that society, and the inconveniences and discontents of the household in Civilisation; the second account, drawn from the eighth period, will deal with the splendour of the combined order.

In order to minimise the shock, I shall start gradually with a picture drawn from the seventh period where, although the pleasures are immense in comparison with our own, they are still moderate in comparison with those of the combined order, which I shall only talk about in the second account. There will be nothing shocking in the first, nor, unlike the second, will it provoke any accusations that it is *absurd, out of proportion or impossible*.

First Account: On the progressive household of the seventh period, and on the discontents of the sexes in the incoherent household

The progressive household I am going to describe is a domestic order belonging to the seventh and twenty-sixth periods, occupying a position midway between the incoherent household of barbarism and Civilisation and the combined household which reigns during the eighteen periods of universal harmony.

In the progressive household, men [and women] enjoy such an agreeable and comfortable existence that it would be impossible to persuade any of them to embark on the kind of permanent marriage which isolated households require.

Before speaking of the customs which arise as a result of the absence of marriage, I shall examine the reasons for civilised man's blind prejudice in favour of permanent marriage.

It must be remembered that I admit the necessity of this bond in Civilisation and that I am criticising it by comparison with the new social order, in which different circumstances will call for a freedom in love which is inadmissible in our society. It must also be remembered that on matters of marriage, household life and other questions you should assume an exception of one-eighth from my general assertions.

Order of matters dealt with in the First Account

On the discontents of men in incoherent households.

On the progressive household or nine-group tribe.

On the method of union of the sexes in the seventh period.

On the degradation of women in Civilisation.

On the correctives which will have led into the sixth period, such as the amorous majority, the amorous corporations, etc.

On the vices of the system which oppresses love.

N.B. This account having turned out to be longer than planned, I drew up this division after it was written. The subject matter is therefore not fully organised under the different headings.

The discontents of men in incoherent households

If one thinks of the countless disasters that accompany household life and permanent marriage it is amazing that the male sex are so gullible that they have never thought about ways of freeing themselves from that sort of life. Apart from among the rich, it seems to me that for the husband domestic life is as far removed from pleasure as it can be; and I want to cite eight sources of annoyance, among others, which affect all husbands to a greater or lesser extent, and which will disappear in the progressive household.

1. *Random unhappiness*. There can be no more fearful game of chance than the indissoluble bond in which the risk of incompatibility between two characters can determine happiness or unhappiness in life.
2. *Expense*. In the current order this is enormous, as the huge savings resulting from the progressive household will convince you.
3. *Vigilance*. The obligation to keep an eye on the detailed running of a household, when it is unwise to leave it blindly in the hands of the housewife.
4. *Monotony*. There is bound to be a great deal of this in isolated households, as husbands, despite the distractions of their work, flock to public places, cafés, clubs, theatres etc. to find some relaxation from the satiety which proverbially comes *from always eating from the same dish*. The monotony is much worse for wives.
5. *Sterility*. This threatens to frustrate all plans for happiness, sets husbands and wives against their parents, gives their patrimony to relatives whose greed and ingratitude drives the original

legatees to despair, fills them with loathing for their sterile mate and for the conjugal knot which has disappointed all their expectations.

6. *Widowerhood*. This reduces the husband to the role of a drudge, which is far worse than the minor annoyances of celibacy. And if you precede your wife to the grave, anxiety for your children left in mercenary hands and the thought of the disasters which will overtake your young family will steep your last moments in gall and bitterness.
7. *Alliance*. The calamity of entering into a relationship with families whose subsequent conduct seldom fulfils the hopes of benefit or pleasure that were originally based on kinship with them.
8. Finally *cuckoldry*, which is a most tiresome accident as one takes exhaustive precautions to avoid it, despite the certainty all husbands have, before they marry, that they too will suffer the general fate which they have inflicted on so many others.^a

Given all these misfortunes attaching to the state of marriage and isolated households, why have men not done more to seek to escape from such a degree of servitude, and instigated some domestic innovations, which could not have produced anything more unfortunate than present household life?

In politics it is said that might is right, but it is very different in domestic matters. The male is the stronger, but by establishing isolated households, and the permanent marriage which is its concomitant, he has not shaped the law to his own advantage. It is as if this order were the work of a third sex which wanted to condemn the other two to a life of discontent: could anything better than the isolated household and permanent marriage have been invented to introduce dullness, venality and treachery into relations of love and pleasure?

Marriage seems to have been invented to reward perversity. The more guileful and seductive a man is, the easier it is for him to achieve wealth and public esteem through marriage; and the same is true of women. Use all the lowest tricks to catch a rich husband and the moment you are married you become a little saint, a sweet wife, a model of virtue. Suddenly acquire a huge fortune by exploiting a young lady and the consequence is so pleasing that everyone is prepared to forgive a fine lad anything, if he can pull off a trick like that.

^a 'See the Note appended to Note A, at the end of the volume.' (1841)

Everyone declares him a good husband, a good son, a good father, a good brother, a good son-in-law, a good relation, a good friend, a good neighbour, a good citizen and a good republican. That is the style of our modern apologists; they cannot praise anyone without pronouncing him good from head to foot, and in every other respect. Public opinion operates in the same way if a knight of industry marries a sum of money. A rich marriage is like a baptism in the rapidity with which it effaces all previous defilement. Thus fathers and mothers in Civilisation have nothing better to do than to incite their children to use every means in their power, fair or foul, to make a rich marriage, because marriage is a real civil baptism which, in the eyes of social opinion, wipes out all sin. Society does not regard other forms of wealth-making with the same indulgence, and never ceases to remind the rest of the newly rich of the shameful ways they came by their fortune.

But for every one who finds happiness through a wealthy marriage, there are countless others who find nothing in the bond but a lifetime of torture. They can see that the subjugation of women is not in any way to men's advantage. How gullible the male sex is to allow itself to wear a chain which it regards with such horror, and what a punishment this bond inflicts on man for reducing woman to servitude.

Although household life can guarantee some of the comforts lacking in celibacy, it never provides any positive happiness,⁶ even in the event of perfect harmony between man and wife, for if they are particularly well-matched nothing would prevent them from living together in an order in which love was free and domestic society differently organised. It will be clear from the picture of a new domestic order that marriage cannot offer a single chance of happiness which the couple could not find if they were completely free.

To keep us quiet about the obvious incongruence between marriage and the passions, philosophy preaches fatalism, spreading the word that we are destined to tribulation in this life, and that we

⁶ I make an exception of cases where people acquire large fortunes through marriage; but there are also ways of attaining fortune by amorous alliances in the state of freedom and the progressive household. As for other pleasures, marriage can provide none which are not more readily available in the societary order, where even the very old will find ample opportunity to exercise all their affections without being exposed to the treachery and mockery that pursues people in civilisation as they get older until they are old enough to be disregarded altogether.

must be able to resign ourselves to it, etc. Absolutely not! All you need to do is discover a new sort of domestic society adapted to the wishes of the passions, which is precisely what nobody has ever proposed or sought. I intend shortly to put you on the right track and give you a glimpse of this new private life whose discovery was so easy.

But let us continue now with the discontents of the isolated household and permanent marriage. This order characteristically keeps us away from all aspects of positive happiness, from real pleasures like amorous freedom, good living, freedom from worry and other pleasures that civilised man does not even dream of envying because philosophy has made them used to treating the desire for the true good as a vice.

Despite the trouble they take to prepare us and soften us up for marriage, in the same way as you might wheedle a child into taking medicine, despite all their favourable, honeyed insinuations about the happiness of the household, we still find men who are terrified of the thought of marriage, especially those who have reached the age of reflection. The marriage-knot must indeed be a fearful one, as men shudder at the prospect several years in advance. I am not talking about unions of the rich: everything is rosy in households which start off with a good income, although even there the husband is likely to be in no hurry to give up his *seraglio*¹ and become the slave of a housewife, for whom he will have to be assiduous in the performance of his conjugal duties if he is not to allow his place to be taken by interlopers, and his wife to present him with children of dubious parenthood which he will be forced to acknowledge as his own by the law '*Is pater est quem justae nuptiae demonstrant*', that is '*the true father is the one designated as such by marriage*.' This law, the bugbear of every man, permits a white woman to give birth to a mulatto child even though her husband is white. And that is only one of the dangers marriage exposes men to. They also see it as a trap set for them, a plunge that they may have to take. Before they

¹ The word '*seraglio*' only refers to large towns, in which any young man with some breeding and fortune can assemble a better-assorted *seraglio* than the Grand Sultan's. There are three classes of odalisks: well-bred women, petty-bourgeois women and courtesans; this is the reason why young people in large towns are so hostile to the bond of marriage, which is much less feared in boring, moral towns like those in Switzerland.

take that step they try endless ruses and calculations. There is nothing more absurd than the tips they give each other on ways to bend wives to the yoke and bewitch them. There is nothing as odd as those groups of young men who meet to discuss marriageable young ladies and the traps set by fathers in their attempt^d to get their daughters off their hands. After lengthy discussion they always conclude that they must marry money; and that if they are going to be deceived by their wives, they can at least make sure they are not tricked out of the dowry, and that they have some indemnity to compensate for the disadvantages of marriage. This is how men reason when they are about to be married. This is the attitude with which they approach *the sacred knot* and the philosophical delights of the household. This calculating approach is as far from love as household life is from good living. Doubtless people live well in the minority of wealthy households (about one out of every eight), but the other seven carry on aimlessly, filled with envy at the sight of the eighth's well-being. All of them in the end, rich or poor, are completely fed up with themselves and the uniformity of their lives, and you see them indulging at great expense in *anti-household* pleasures, like haunting public places, theatres, dances, cafés, etc., keeping open house if they are rich, or indulging in other sorts of entertainment if they cannot themselves afford the cost of the distraction they need.

All these pastimes, so expensive in the current order, will be lavishly and freely available to everybody in the seventh period, some of whose arrangements I am going to outline. Everybody will be assured of a regular variety of parties and entertainments, and a degree of freedom inconceivable to you in your household meals, governed as they are by constrained manners and a host of prejudices very far removed from the relaxed comfort you can already sometimes find in *picnics* and *intimate suppers*. A further point to note about these household meals, where all the sparkle has been

^d To be frank, fathers of marriageable daughters play an objectionable role in civilisation. I suppose that paternal love is capable of rendering them blind to the disgraceful nature of the methods and cajoleries they adopt in order to lure suitors, but they can hardly be blind to the uneasiness and disquiet that attaches to such a role. How many of those overburdened with daughters must long for somebody to discover a new domestic order where marriage will no longer exist, and where they will be rid of the trouble of finding husbands for them! And what gratitude they will owe the person who brings them the discovery!

taken out by the uneven mix of ages or companions and by the tiring nature of the preparations, is that even this mediocre form of entertainment is only possible among the rich. Imagine the fate of all those couples who are deprived of what people call 'pleasures' by insufficiency of fortune, and reduced to the domestic war so well defined by the proverb: *'Fools fight when the cupboard is bare.'* And plenty of wealthy households, anyway, succumb to the disharmony which is practically universal among the great poverty-embittered majority.

Admittedly, there are exceptions. Some individuals and some entire nations submit readily to the yoke of marriage: the patient, phlegmatic German character, for example, is far better suited to conjugal servitude than the fickle, restless French. Exceptions like these are used by apologists of marriage to support their case; but of course they only cite favourable instances: that kind of binding relationship probably does suit a man in his declining years, who wants to be free of the corruption around him. I would be happy to believe that a wife could find the company of a man like that attractive, and turn her back on the vortex of fashionable society for his sake, but why does the male sex only develop such sensible tastes after fifteen or twenty years of flirtation? And when men withdraw from society why do they not choose mature, experienced women like themselves, instead of hoping that some young damsel will be more precociously virtuous than they have ever been? It is amusing that civilised man, who boasts of the superiority of his reason over women's, should require girls of sixteen to behave with a degree of rationality they do not themselves acquire until they are thirty or forty and have wallowed in debauchery since their youth. If they only attain reason by way of pleasure, they should surely not be surprised if a woman gets there by the same route.

Their household policy, based on the fidelity of innocent young girls, is quite outside any of God's designs. The fact that he has given young women a taste for pleasure and dissipation is one proof that he does not intend them for marriage or household life, which would require a taste for retirement. This is also why men are bound to be unhappy in households, as they marry young women whom nature has not given any inclination for that sort of life.

The philosophers' contribution to this has been to promise to *change the passions of women, to repress nature.* A laughable claim!

We know how successful that has been. In marriage, as in any other contract, the men who most deserve happiness are the most likely to meet with misfortune. The ones who most deserve a settled marriage meet the most treacherous and lascivious women and the husband's loyalty becomes the focus of the deceit practised upon him. He will be the most easily taken in by the affectation of modesty and the air of innocence which philosophical education bestows on all young women to disguise their nature. Despite all the moralists' systems, happiness is not to be found in our households; a universal cry is being raised against the tedium of that kind of life, and it is the men who are complaining about it, the same men who shaped the law and ought to have benefited from it. What, therefore, would the women say, if they had the right to complain? What is one to think of an institution which the stronger sex, who established it, find wearisome, and which is even more wearisome to the weaker sex, who are nonetheless prevented from voicing any complaint about it?

We are expected to admire the apparent harmony of these households, in which a young victim, with heroic devotion, puts up with the persecutions of a jealous husband who has retired from society. But this is surely a worse state of war than the one existing between some married couples in German villages, where the husband keeps a stick called *domestic peace* beside the hearth and uses it as the last word in any conjugal argument. Oppression may be less visible in polite society, but it is just as much a reality. Why then do both sexes not rebel against a domestic order which subjects them to so much frustration and annoyance? Seeing this domestic war among citizens of all classes, people ought surely to be able to realise that the married state is not man's destiny. Instead of looking for palliatives for the dissension within couples we should have been looking for ways of escaping from a household life which breeds and encourages every sort of discord and tedium without producing any compensating advantages which could not be found in a state of complete freedom.

Progressive Household or Nine-group Tribe

Let us turn now to the system which could replace our domestic state: this is a measure, taken from the seventh social period, which

I shall call the *Progressive Household* or *Nine-group Tribe*. It can be organised into eight or ten groups, but nine is the most suitable number for a proper balance of the passions.

To set up one of these tribes, one needs a building capable of lodging about a hundred people of differing fortune, namely eighty masters of one sex and about twenty domestic servants of both sexes; the lodgings need to be of different quality so that people can choose one appropriate to their fortune, and there must also be a range of public rooms.

Internally the tribe should, as nearly as possible, form *nine groups of nine* (but remember these numbers are not rigid requirements, just approximate indications); at mealtimes, for example, there should be nine tables, three in each of three dining-rooms, first, second and third class, and in each room each table should be served at consecutive times, such as 1, 2 and 3 o'clock, avoiding uniformity in everything. Uniformity, half-heartedness and mediocrity are the three natural enemies of the passions and harmony, because the equilibrium of the passions can only be established by a regular clash of contraries.

The tribe will have three compatible occupations: a tribe of artisans, for instance, could practise the three trades of carpenter, joiner and cabinet-maker. Each society has to have a name, an escutcheon: this one might be the Oak Tribe. Nearby might be the Lilac Tribe, made up of women who work as linen-drapers, tailors and milliners.

Each member contributes to a capital fund at one of three fixed, graduated rates, such as 4,000, 8,000 and 12,000, or nothing, 1,000 and 2,000. Or if some rich people wanted to found a particularly magnificent tribe, their capital could be as much as 100 thousand, 200 thousand and 300 thousand, as long as the principle that the first class pays three times as much as the third class is observed. This capital fund serves as a guarantee against the advances for food, rent and tax which the tribe collectively makes to each of its members.

The societies do not allow any coercive rules or monastic discomfort, so for example third-class companies or individuals may sometimes be served food of the second or first class: the tribe's ruling body can grant this favour to anybody who does not abuse it.

The palaces or manors of neighbouring tribes should be able to intercommunicate by means of sheltered, covered arcades so that

people, whether engaged on business matters or pleasure, will be protected from the severity of the weather which we suffer from all the time in Civilisation. People must be able to move freely from one palace to another along heated or ventilated passage-ways, with none of the current risk of constantly getting soaked through, splattered with mud, and ending up with colds or pneumonia, because of moving from enclosed rooms to open streets. After a ball or a banquet, the men and women who are going to sleep away from their tribes must be able to walk under cover without having to get dressed up in boots and furs and without the bother of climbing into a carriage; and instead of going down three or four streets, as they would have to in Civilisation, they need only pass through the public arcades of three or four adjacent manors, never feeling heat or cold, rain or wind. This system of sheltered communications is just one of the thousand pleasures of the combined order which we can already get an idea of from the nine-group tribe.

Eighteen tribes altogether, nine masculine and nine feminine, would need to be set up to ensure balanced competition; but this would cost more than establishing a combined-order phalanx. The experiment could therefore be limited to six tribes, three of men and three of women. Even competition on this reduced scale would enable the six tribes completely to eradicate three philosophical vices: uniformity, half-heartedness and mediocrity. For example, if the Reed Tribe is the poorest of the six it will do its utmost to excel in cleanness, dexterity, politeness and other qualities compatible with its slender fortune, and what is more it will avoid all pretension to areas in which it would not be able to rise above mediocrity.

This kind of association, unlike the combined order, will not allow extreme contrasts, such as that between a pauper and a millionaire. Those disparities will be in harmony with the eighth period, but they are not at all suitable for the seventh, which is the one we are dealing with here. In the eighth period, association is based on *contrast*, whereas in the seventh it is based on *differences of degree*: thus although a progressive household, or nine-group tribe, is composed of members who are not equal, they have to maintain some similarity among themselves, while an eighth period phalanx has to bring together very different sorts of people.

An embryonic form of the progressive household can be perceived in our cities, in *men's and women's clubs* or *casinos* which are beginning to attract people away from insipid family parties. They provide inexpensive balls and concerts, and a store of games, newspapers and other distractions which would cost ten times as much in private houses. The pleasures they offer save both money and effort because all the preparations are taken care of by the staff, as in the progressive household, but there is a general equality in *clubs* and *casinos* which hinders the development of ambition, whereas the progressive household, with its subdivision into nine unequal, rival groups, provides enormous scope for the three ambitious schemes of *protector*, *protégé* and *independent*.

I shall not say anything here about the arrangements for children and their education in these households, as to explain it in detail would require a complete synopsis of the seventh period. Let us merely think about the embryonic idea I have proposed, the hypothesis of an establishment composed of six progressive households, two of which are wealthy, two middle-class and two poor. Let us imagine these six tribes suddenly placed in Civilisation, in a city like Paris or London: what would be the results of this domestic innovation, so foreign to our old habits of incoherence?

Note first that the establishment of these six tribes would not require the overthrow of empires and the bloodshed which always accompany attempts to put the visions of philosophers into practice. The task would be a very peaceable one, and instead of laying waste the earth in the name of the rights of man, it would involve the peaceful establishment of the rights of women by allocating them three of the six proposed establishments with their nine classes of fortune for each sex.

The results this innovation would produce are enigmas I leave the curious to imagine, while I try to get them under way.

In administrative economics, it is surely a great advantage for a ruler to deal with a tribe which pays its taxes after a simple request, on a fixed day, rather than having to deal with twenty incoherent families, half of whom defraud the revenue and the rest of whom only pay up after being harassed by tax-collectors. There is no need for that kind of procedure with tribes: in the event of a law being contravened, the only punishment necessary

is loss of reputation, as in taking down the escutcheon from the doorway. Think of the increase in the king's revenue and the ease of administration if the whole kingdom were organised in tribes of this sort. Even if he reduced taxes by a third he would still be half as rich again, whether by saving on the cost of collection or as a result of the increase in taxable production which would stem from combined industry.

In domestic economics, individual expenses would be similarly reduced. In progressive households it would be possible to live far better on an income of 1,000 livres than on one of 3,000 in incoherent households, as well as doing away with the burdensome need to buy food, manage the household and carry out all the other tasks which would instead be carried out by each tribe's group of major-domos. No men or women who do not enjoy the work of major-domos or household management would have to do any domestic work; after their work is finished they would have nothing to do except enjoy themselves by trying out the different tables and varied companionship of their tribe and the neighbouring tribes of both sexes, inviting others back in exchange. Invitations, which involve us in so much expense, would therefore cost the reciprocal revellers nothing, as no tribe would profit either from its members, who would be indemnified for each meal they missed, or from their guests, whose meals would cost the same as those of the members. So that, for everything to be balanced, all the members could spend their time as hosts or guests at feasts which would cost not a penny more than if they stayed at home alone. As for the meals themselves, I have already pointed out that combined labour means that they only cost a third of the effort and expense of meals in incoherent households.

(To judge the variety and charm that these gatherings of diners from different tribes would offer, you would have to understand the amorous and industrial relations of the seventh period, which would take too long to describe.)

As to morality, one can see that every tribe, however poor, is governed by an *esprit de corps*, a jealous guarding of the tribe's honour, and that the 1st of the three classes becomes a model for the other two, who strive to imitate it. This *esprit de corps* is enough to banish the worst vices of the civilised population, coarseness, slovenliness and meanness, and any other failings by which a tribe

would feel itself degraded so that it would instantly expel anybody guilty of them.

This would all be the result of the struggle between the sexes. The female tribes would always be doing their best to shine in civility and to compensate for their lack of fortune by an excess of courtesy. This spirit is incompatible with the popular organisations in Civilisation, which lack the three elements that have a refining influence on the human race, namely:

1. *The struggle between male and female organisations.*
2. *Competition between the three classes of a tribe and between the unequal groups in each class.*
3. *The leisure enjoyed by people in the seventh period, in which subordinate jobs are three times as lucrative as in the incoherent order.*

Since our organisations are deprived of these three elements it is not surprising that there is a tendency towards coarseness in all middle-class and lower-class occupations. Yet we do see some poor men, like those in the army, with a strong sense of nobility, ready to sacrifice their lives for the honour of their regiment, despite deriving no benefit from it. This general enthusiasm among soldiers is an indication of the use that could be made of *esprit de corps* if it were joined with compound progress in both sexes, as will happen in the seventh period, when all the tedious social and domestic annoyances of Civilisation are a thing of the past.

Among these domestic annoyances must be placed that of personal service, which will not exist in the seventh period. Domestic servants in general will not be attached to individuals but to the tribe, each of them being allocated to various members whose characters are sympathetic to their own. This right of choice will make service a pleasure for both superiors and inferiors, as they will be brought together by friendship rather than money, an arrangement as yet unknown in familial societies, where servants are generally secret enemies of their masters. There are three main reasons for this:

1. *Poor wages*, which are very low in the incoherent order. Because service is more complicated there it requires three times as many servants as in a tribe, and their wages are therefore a third of what they could be in a tribe.

2. *The incompatibility of character* which renders the superior tyrannical and makes mutual relations extremely chilly. This is exacerbated by the fear of theft and other forms of mistrust which cannot arise in tribes.
3. *Multiplicity of duties.* The necessity for this will not arise in tribes, where everybody will only carry out those tasks to which he is temperamentally suited, and can choose only partially to be involved in domestic work. In the current order, on the other hand, servants are obliged to see to twenty duties, half of which they may not like, and consequently blame their masters for the fact that they dislike their jobs, and indeed often hate their masters before they even make their acquaintance.

Domestic service in tribes, in short, provides numerous pleasures for both valets and masters, for this order can take any occupation which is a source of tedium or annoyance in the civilised order, and make it enjoyable.

Old people, in particular, would be able to find work in the new order. There is nothing more distressing than the lot of children and old people in the civilised order: there are no suitable jobs for the very old and the very young, with the result that childhood and old age become a burden on the social body. Children are nevertheless cherished for the services they will render in the future, whereas old people, from whom nothing is expected except a legacy, are unwelcome, despised, ridiculed behind their backs, and hounded into the grave. There is still some respect for them in rich families, but among the peasantry and the mass of the people there is nothing sadder than the fate of the old. They are degraded, openly rebuffed, scorned and everywhere made to feel that their lives are useless.

Progressive households put an end to such scandalous behaviour, as old people have jobs which are just as useful as those of men in the prime of life. As long as they remain healthy they enjoy as delightful a life as they did when they were young.

It is a telling indication of the wonderful suitability of the progressive household to the human passions that nature has distributed different tastes and inclinations in the proportion and variety appropriate to the new order, and in constant disproportion to the needs of the civilised order.

There is a proof of this which I have already adduced, but which is worth reiterating. I have said that the majority of women have neither inclination nor aptitude for household work, most finding the care of one small family frustrating and exhausting; a few on the other hand make light of domestic work, and are so good at it that they would be capable of running a hundred-person home. Yet Civilisation requires all women to show an equal taste for the household work that they all have to do. Why then does nature refuse to allow three-quarters of them an aptitude for it? In order to retain the proportion appropriate to the societary order, which will employ scarcely a quarter of them on these tasks.

Add to this those details which are men's responsibility, and which may serve to make them aware of the unsuitability of isolated households. The example I shall take is care of the cellars, from which nature has excluded women. In the current order this makes it necessary for every head of household to know about oenology, knowledge which is not easy to acquire. Three-quarters of rich households lack this knowledge, and consequently are very poorly stocked with wine; they spend a lot of money on drink, but have nothing but adulterated and badly kept wines because they have to rely on wine-merchants who are the most adept swindlers, and on hired cellar-men whose only skill is cheating. That is why a meal with an ordinary citizen who knows about the management of wine is often preferable to a meal with a prince who has spent vast sums to serve his guests an assortment of liquid poisons compounded by wine-merchants, and even by proprietors, who since the development of the mercantile spirit have become as corrupt as the merchants.

There will be no need for a societary tribe to fear this sort of fraud, as its membership will always include a committee of experienced cellar-men whom it will be impossible to deceive, or even to surprise. All the tribe's supplies, food, drink or whatever, will be intelligently chosen and kept in prime condition, without the majority of the members having to concern themselves with organising it. All that will be required is a committee of specialists to look after each area, who will derive pleasure, profit and respect from so doing.

Continued analysis of the drawbacks of our kind of life, in isolated households, will make it clear that all our domestic difficulties

derive from a single cause, from *social incoherence* and the way it requires every man and woman to have all sorts of tastes and knowledge which nature has only bestowed on a very small number of us, so as not to exceed the needs of the societary order which is our destiny and which will normally only employ ten people where we currently employ a hundred. There would therefore be no point in nature lavishly distributing inclinations and characteristics which we regard as praiseworthy, such as that of the housewife, when they would become useless and superfluous in the societary state if there were as many of them as the civilised order demands. My argument from this is the same conclusion as I have articulated several times: there is nothing vicious in our tastes or our characters, which have been distributed in the variety and proportion appropriate to our future destinies; and there is nothing vicious on earth except the civilised and incoherent order, and its complete inability to adapt to the system of our passions, which are all designed for the needs of the societary order, of which the progressive household is the embryonic form.

Method of the union of the sexes in the seventh period [but not in the eighth]

In this period, which is so easy to organise, amorous freedom begins to develop and transforms most of our vices into virtues, just as it transforms most of our elegant manners into vices. There will be several grades of amorous union, the three principal ones being:

Favourites and titular favourites.

Natural co-parents.

Husbands and wives.

The last of these must have at least two children together, the second only one and the first none. These titles give the couples varying rights of inheritance.

A woman may simultaneously have: first, a husband by whom she has two children; second, a co-parent by whom she has one child; third, a favourite who has lived with her and retained the title; and in addition to these, plain lovers, who have no rights in law. This gradation of titles gives these commitments a large measure of urbanity and fidelity. A woman may refuse the title of co-

parent to a favourite by whom she is pregnant; in cases of dissatisfaction she may thus refuse several men the superior title they aspire to. And men can act similarly in respect of their different women. This system completely obviates the hypocrisy caused by marriage. In Civilisation, all rights exist in perpetuity from the moment the fatal bond is sealed, and everybody has to deal with the full consequences of their hypocrisy. Thus it comes about that most husbands and wives complain of being trapped within a few days of their marriage, and remain trapped for life. Such traps no longer exist in the seventh period; couples only progress through the amorous stages over time, having at first no title beyond that of favourite, which carries few rights with it and can be revoked if the parties are unsuitable. A man who wants a child runs no risk of being prevented by the sterility of his sole wife. And the wife runs no risk of being made permanently unhappy by the hypocrisy of a husband who reveals himself the day after the wedding to be violent, jealous or a gambler. Conjugal titles are only conferred after adequate trial has been made, and as they are not exclusive they never become more than attractions of courtesy, not the means of persecution which stem from exclusive marriage and the equality to which it reduces all the ties of love.

This short digression on *progressive households* is not nearly enough to provide an adequate sense of the seventh period: among other things it needs to be supplemented by a note on that society's amorous code, and its system of education. However I shall not enlarge upon it: the little I have said about progressive households is sufficient to demonstrate how very easy it is to escape from the labyrinth of Civilisation by a purely domestic operation, without political upheavals or scientific effort.

The abundant advantages revealed by this simple innovation provide an opportunity for me to stress two absurdities which I have already pointed out: the stupidity of the philosophers, who have never suggested any innovations in domestic matters; and the general gullibility of the male sex who allow the continuation of conjugal servitude, which they are the victims of, and whose only consolation is the malign pleasure of seeing women more enslaved and unhappy than they are.

The lowly character of savage and barbarous women ought to have demonstrated to civilised man that men's happiness in love

is proportionate to the freedom enjoyed by women. Such freedom, by opening the way to pleasures, also opens the way to the honourable behaviour which is part of their attraction. How hypocritical your gallantry is! Young men oiling their way into households and degrading themselves by cajoleries which extend from the husband to the lapdog, and for what? To enjoy the favours of a wife who has just left the arms of her husband, and to plant the offspring of alien stock in the family. I admit that love makes many sorts of trickery appear seductive, but looked at objectively it is an odious role to play. It is scarcely surprising that civilised love affairs end up in icy indifference, when satiety reveals the true state of things to the lovers. I have already mentioned the most glaring aspect of your love affairs, *cuckoldry*, which, if we examine it closely, probably makes the performer look as ridiculous as the wronged party.

Let me explain what I mean: my claim is that the public and the cuckold himself can amuse themselves at the seducer's expense, and that cuckoldry often brings more ridicule to the lover than to the husband.

To demonstrate this, let us first establish a hierarchy of cuckoldry and introduce into this serious debate the beacon of analytic method, which the philosophers regard as the path to truth.

Among cuckolds, it is possible to distinguish nine degrees of cuckoldry, both among men and women, for women are cuckolded far more often than men; indeed if the husband has horns as tall as a stag's antlers, the wife's may be said to be as high as the branches of a tree.

I shall merely give the three basic varieties here, namely the *common cuckold*, the *short-horned cuckold* and the *long-horned cuckold*.⁶

- I. The *common cuckold* is a respectable, jealous husband who is unaware of his misfortune and believes himself to be the sole possessor of his wife. As long as other people sustain his illusion by exercising laudable discretion, there is no reason to

⁶ ['The full list comprises 64 species, progressively arranged by class, order and kind, from the *budding cuckold* to the *posthumous cuckold*. I have limited myself to describing three species, as I have wanted in this as in other matters to take soundings about what matters to develop more fully in the *Treatise*.']

make fun of him: he cannot after all be angry at an offence he has no knowledge of. Any ridicule attaches to the seducer, who ingratiates himself and bows and scrapes to the man with whom he knowingly shares the woman.

2. The *short-horned cuckold* is a husband, sated with love in his own household, who wants to take his pleasures elsewhere and turns a blind eye to his wife's conduct, abandoning her to her lovers, with the sole reservation that he will not acknowledge any child of hers. Such husbands are not figures of mockery; quite the reverse, they have the right to gossip about other people's horns as boldly as if they had none themselves.
3. The *long-horned cuckold* is an absurdly jealous husband, quite unsuited to his wife, and well aware of her infidelity, a maniac who wants to kick against the decree of destiny, but whose clumsy attempts to resist it make him an object of derision for his useless precautions, his rage and his uncontrolled outbursts. Molière's Georges Dandin is the perfect example of a long-horned cuckold.

Let us look at the ordinary *common cuckold*, the first variety.

If honour in love consists in exclusive possession, it is clear that the common cuckold saves his honour, while his supplanter knowingly allows his honour to be harmed. He humiliates himself so far as to hear without murmur the threats directed towards him, because the husband openly reveals his intention of hunting down anybody who tries to seduce his wife. He is degraded by his diplomacy with the husband, and again by his deception with the wife, who continually tells him that her husband no longer cohabits with her. He pretends to believe this to preserve his self-respect, yet can he really be unaware that a woman in this situation redoubles her enthusiasm for her husband in order to hide her intrigue and prevent his suspicions in the event of her becoming pregnant? This consideration alone forces the woman to seek her husband's favours at the very time she wants to yield to the gallant, because she is afraid that he may be careless; so, out of prudence, she gives herself to her lover only after protecting herself with her husband's favours: a very flattering precaution for her suitor! A wonderful position to find himself in! These incontestable facts make every fop wince when they are

explained to him, and he becomes very disconcerted with the trophies he thought he had won from the husband, and convinced that his honour is by no means undamaged.

And even if the husband is an indulgent man, and the lover is able to take his place, does he not realise that this Argus can return to his duties and demand his wife's favours whenever he likes? What kind of victory is it to possess a woman who lives with a master who can enjoy her at will, in a relationship sanctioned by civil and religious authority? For according to *Sanchez* and other casuists, any spouse who refuses to perform his or her *marital duty* is guilty of mortal sin. (By this decision the Church at least grants equal rights to women, as it condemns both men and women for refusing conjugal rights. This judgement is absent from the work of the philosophers, who are not concerned if women are scorned, and do not allow them the right to demand the daily bread which is a household obligation.)

A survey of these feats of cuckoldry reveals nothing but degrading situations for the beaux, who take pride in what they do when most of them in reality are merely objects of shame whose only talent is to deceive husbands when they are off their guard, a talent which seems pretty wretched to anyone acquainted with a freer and more honourable conduct of love affairs than happens in Civilisation.

I have said enough to prove that civilised man views everything in the wrong way, as is borne out by these intrigues of cuckoldry they pride themselves on, but which are completely unpleasing to men of refinement. One can see from this how far civilised man is subject to error on important matters when he is so wrong on simple ones such as cuckoldry. Our opinions on this subject are so far removed from reason because we try to ignore the meanness and coarseness of the pleasures that Civilisation offers us. You would have a very low opinion of your love affairs if I gave you a description of the way in which love is organised in the seventh period, in the *tribes or progressive households* which, as embryonic forms of the combined order, already have its capacity to eradicate the accidental maladies which introduce so many obstacles into even the freest of civilised love affairs.

Self-interest, pleasure and equity brought about the simple invention of *progressive households*. The only reason such an obvious

process remained unrecognised for so long is the human race's fatal habit of leaving all social improvement to the philosophers, whose sole exertions in that area are to upset administrative affairs in order to intervene in them themselves, and who only interest themselves in the domestic order to tighten the chains of the weaker sex. Most of them are past the age at which they are attractive to women and their one aim is to repress and misuse a servile housewife. Entirely occupied with moulding young women by their canting insinuations, they bend all their writings to this purpose, preaching the oppression of women and boasting about the pleasure of burying them alive as ornaments for a libertine's withdrawal from society. They come together to deprive young people of the liberty they have made so much use of, belonging to the class of jealous husband described by Horace as the old age which

Incapable of the pleasures he misused in youth
Blames in her a happiness which age denies to him.

Rousseau, for example, rants about keeping women in the household, at the same time as he admits that he was an ardent enthusiast for prostitutes and compliant beauties, descending to the most indiscreet details about the shapely form of the women who were so generous to him. How would he have procured his diversions if all the women had followed his pretexts and lived only for a husband? This is what the philosophers are like; they rant against riches, honour and pleasure and immerse themselves in them without restraint, under the pretext of reforming and improving the world. Steeped as they are in their selfishness, are they incapable of welcoming any idea, or shaping any plan, which is favourable to women? Could they fall in on any matter with God's designs, which conduce to justice, that is, to the good of the weaker sex as well as that of the stronger?

Degradation of women in Civilisation

Is there a shadow of justice to be seen in the fate which has befallen them! Is a young woman not a piece of merchandise offered for sale to whoever wants to negotiate her acquisition and exclusive ownership? Is not the consent she gives to the marriage bond derisory and enforced upon her by the tyranny of all the prejudices

which have beset her since childhood? People try to persuade her that her chains are merely garlands of flowers: but can she really be under any illusion about her degradation, even in regions bloated with philosophy like England, where a man has the right to lead his wife to market with a rope around her neck and sell her, like a beast of burden, to anybody who can pay his price? Our public opinion on this point can hardly claim to be more advanced than in those crude times when the Council of Mâcon, a true council of vandals, deliberated the question of whether women had souls, and decided in the affirmative by a majority of only three votes. English legislation, so praised by the moralists, accords men several rights which are equally dishonourable to the sex, such as the husband's right to demand financial compensation from his wife's acknowledged lover. The form this slavery takes in France is less crude, but it is basically the same. Here, as everywhere else, we see young women languishing, falling ill and dying for want of a union which nature imperiously commands and which prejudice forbids, on pain of being branded immoral, before they have been legally sold. However uncommon such events may be, they happen frequently enough to attest to the enslavement of the weaker sex, a contempt for nature's wishes and the absence of all justice where women are concerned.

Among the indications promising a fortunate outcome for the extension of female privileges, we must consider the experience of all countries. We have already noted that the best countries have always been those which allowed women the most freedom: we have seen this with savages and barbarians as well as in Civilisation. The Japanese, who are the bravest, the most industrious and the most honourable of the barbarians are also the least jealous and the most indulgent towards women, so much so that the grotesque Chinese make the voyage to Japan to find the love which their hypocritical customs forbid. The Tahitians, for the same reason, are the best of the savages. No other horde has developed industry to such an extent, given the slender resources their country provides. The French, who persecute women the least, are also the best of the civilised nations, in that they are most flexible, so that a skilful sovereign can draw the best part of them into any work in very little time; and despite some faults, like frivolity, individual pre-

sumption¹ and slovenliness, they are the principal civilised nation just by virtue of their flexibility, which is the character furthest removed from barbarians. It can similarly be observed that the most corrupt nations have always been those in which women were most subjugated, as witness the Chinese, the dregs of the globe, who are the most deceitful, most cowardly and most pleasure-starved of all industrial peoples, and who are also the most jealous and intolerant in matters of love. Of the modern, civilised countries, the least generous towards women are the Spanish, and thus they have remained more backward than other European nations, and are renowned neither in the arts nor the sciences. As for the savage hordes, a study of them would show that there too the most corrupt are those who have the least regard for the weaker sex, and among whom the condition of women is the most wretched.

¹ The charge of presumption is applicable only to individuals, not to the French nation; the nation, collectively, falls victim to the opposite vice, self-distrust, believing itself incapable of carrying out anything on its own. The phrase *it's impossible* is constantly on French people's lips, and one might call the French a *Nation of impossibles*. The only things they respect and admire are foreigners: an artist or scholar is worth twice as much in France if he is a foreigner. No other nation enjoys tormenting its great men so much, during their lifetime. France is a scholar's hell. It is quite different in other countries, which deify everybody they produce. In Germany every writer is regarded as a great man during his lifetime, and they lavish the epithet *famous* on them at the slightest sign of success. While the French nation, far from being presumptuous, sets about applauding and imitating the vices of foreigners; which is why, for example, in 1787 we saw the old court attempting to introduce the noble custom of beating into military discipline, in imitation of the Prussians with whom they were infatuated. And oh! what absurd fashions they borrowed from the English, whom they were similarly obsessed with. The French in fact are very modest, even in war, where their numerous successes ought to inspire some presumption. Proof of this was to be seen in the most recent campaign where the Prussians gave vent to the most indecent bragging: from the diatribes printed in Berlin it seemed that one appearance, one breath of the Prussian legions was going to annihilate the French army which was advancing without any such boastfulness, and with no rhodomontade from the French press. These characteristics are sufficient proof that the French nation is not suffering from presumption but from the opposite characteristic, lack of confidence in itself and an admiration of foreigners. No people is more hospitable and more honourable in its treatment of conquered enemies. Yet individually the French are presumptuous, and they flaunt this vice in their affected manners and their conceited bearing, and in their habitual punning and joking. So what is the source of this contrast between the characteristic presumption of individuals and the modest, flexible character of the nation? I could explain the cause and the remedy, but it is not always a good thing to tell the full truth.

As a general proposition: *Social progress and changes of historical period are brought about as a result of the progress of women towards liberty; and the decline of social orders is brought about as a result of the diminution of the liberty of women.*

Other events influence these political vicissitudes, but there is no other cause which produces such rapid social progress or decline as a change in the condition of women. I have already said that the mere adoption of closed harems would soon return us to the period of barbarism, and the act of opening the harems would be sufficient to transform barbarism into Civilisation. To sum up, *the extension of the privileges of women is the basic principle of all social progress.*

Correctives which would have led into the sixth period

Amorous majority, amorous corporations: their results

Amorous majority

It is our globe's great misfortune that among the sovereigns of Civilisation there has never been a single friend to women, no prince who has treated women justly. Some have demonstrated gallantry, but there is a great difference between that and the impartiality of which I am about to give two illustrations. These might seem like seeds of disorder until their influence is understood.

The first step towards impartiality in the treatment of women would be to grant them an *age of amorous majority*; to free them at a certain age from the humiliation of being offered for sale, and of being obliged to deprive themselves of men's company until some unknown man haggles over them and marries them. In my opinion, women ought to be declared emancipated or free at the age of eighteen, subject to appropriate rules governing the conduct of their love affairs.

At the age of eighteen a woman has been fully mature for four years, long enough, I think, for the men of the town or canton to have had time to think and to choose whether to take her or leave her.

Given that men, following the law of the strongest, would prefer all girls to be denied sexual pleasure, in order to reserve their vir-

ginity for the first boor who comes and bargains for her, ought one not to allocate some condition to those who finally do not have a taker? Should they not, after a few years, be put into circulation, authorised to provide for themselves as they like, legally to take lovers, *and to do so without requiring permission*? Those who have not found a husband in four years of exposure at balls and outings, high masses and sermons, run a great risk of never finding one; the motives which have kept husbands away during the four years' trial will continue the same after that. And besides, if marriage is useful in Civilisation, it is proper that men should be stimulated to it by the fear of losing the youthful first-fruits of the women they leave untouched after their eighteenth birthday.

It would be all the more sensible to take the part of girls who are neglected because they are usually the most beautiful and the most likely to have fine children. Very many beautiful women remain unattached because their beauty frightens men, who are scared of being cuckolded and turn marriage into a calculus of reason, jealousy and avarice. This conjugal Machiavellianism ignores the most distinguished women, the ones most capable of managing a household. There is nothing more revolting than seeing the way these unfortunate girls are despised because they do not have money in their favour. Why on earth have their parents, who have got them on their hands, not decided to propose some reform of customs so prejudicious to the less wealthy families, as they are the most numerous and the ones most in need of protection?

Following these suggestions, women in Civilisation would be divided into two classes: *maidens* below the age of eighteen, and *emancipated women* over the age of eighteen. At that age they would acquire the right to take lovers, subject to laws which would have to be passed about the fate of children born to such unions. (I shall describe these laws when I deal with the sixth period, as this is a sixth-period measure.)

Public opinion and justice would unite to demand this measure. Everybody knows that young women who reach the age of twenty without marrying are ridiculed by men. Their neglect arouses mockery, they become the butt of gibes and sarcasm, and are forced into breaking the law by taking secret lovers. Men are such scandal-mongers, so unjust where women are concerned, that they make fun of all of them, whether they are virtuous or whether they have

lost their virginity, at an age when the burden of it becomes too much to bear.

What would have been the danger of granting amorous liberty to women over the age of eighteen, and what benefits have we derived from the oppressive system of the philosophers? All they have done, with their canting system of education, which makes young ladies pretend not to care about love, is to organise *universal cuckoldry*. After that, no other system more in line with the intentions of nature could very well produce more cuckolds than we see today. And would it not be better, given that, to try an order which would be less oppressive and less degrading to women? Of course it would, because amorous liberty develops valuable qualities in the classes who most enjoy it, *women of quality, high-class courtesans, and unmarried women of the petty bourgeoisie*.

It is in these three classes of women that the most successful developments are to be seen: taken together, their qualities add up to perfection. To wit:

Ladies of the court. By this I mean those who are amorous, natural, relaxed, with an exuberant manner which inspires friendship. Anyone seeing them for the first time is instantly seduced by them; he thinks he has found women who transcend ordinary human nature because they are so different from bourgeois women, to whom lying comes automatically, who have narrow souls where love reigns exclusively and allows no other passion access, and who have an icy disregard for friendship, or fondness for the arts and other noble qualities. The ladies of the court no doubt have their faults too, but their intrigues are coloured by their naturalness and magnanimity. And can one blame them for beautifying vice when it is what governs Civilisation?

High-class *courtesans*, leaving aside a degree of stratagem which their kind of trade demands, are full of noble qualities; they are obliging, charitable and warm-hearted; their character would be sublime if their income was large enough, witness that of Ninon. Being used to pleasure they have none of the slyness and the ulterior sensuality so noticeable in bourgeois women steeped in morality, in those housewives whose displays of sentiment constantly reveal a sensuality which they insist on denying although it never mars a woman when it is in balance with the affections of her soul, as it is with women who are openly amorous.

Petty-bourgeois women, shop-girls, workers etc. are, until they marry, a class of women who are entirely free, especially in cities. They parade their lovers under the nose of their mother and father, and change them whenever they like. In short, they enjoy in profusion what is denied to young ladies of higher rank.⁸ They spend their youth flitting from man to man, with the result that they are better at work and cleverer at finding some innocent to marry them when they are past their prime. Doubtless one may criticise their mania for perpetual dissimulation, but the blame for this must be laid on the bad conduct of the middle-class men around them. By and large they have pleasant dispositions; above all, they are excellent housewives, greatly preferable to the fine ladies of higher rank.

To sum up: the female character would be raised to perfection if the qualities of the three classes of women I have described could be united; and such would indeed be the effect of a social order in which the female sex enjoyed full amorous liberty. By trying to achieve the single aim of housewife you lose everything by wanting too little. Your young women, stuffed with prejudices and philosophy, are denatured creatures, consumed with desires, their minds continually distracted; they work without pleasure, have only a superficial knowledge of the skills they are taught, forget everything they have learned when they get married, and soon become bad housewives unless their husband is clever enough to show them what to do. Society dazzles them and they are all the more easily seduced by it because it is new to them; whereas women who have had some experience before their marriage will be less infatuated with pleasure and, being aware of the wiles of men, will be more attached to the household and their husbands, whom they will regard as protectors against the importunity of other men. If they do take substitutes it will be for relaxation rather than passion; their affairs will not make them forget the interests of their household, and they will do all they can to mitigate the inevitable disgrace of cuckoldry. Such women are eminently suited to easy-going men,

⁸ So-called *well-bred* young ladies have to put up with a deplorable and bizarre form of persecution, as they see petty-bourgeois women in their town, in their houses, or beneath their windows, enjoying themselves and indulging in love affairs while they are forbidden to do so. Why are there such different customs in civilisation, and what reasons will the philosophers adduce to prove the impossibility of trying to generalise this amorous liberty, which produces nothing but beneficial effects in the classes of women who enjoy it?

compliant husbands who need a domineering wife, a virago, who can manage the household and wear the trousers. Wives like this can make weak men happy, providing them with true conjugal love which consists in common interests and a coalition against the treachery of society.

And there are so many other classes of men who cannot put up with these prejudice-ridden women, these philosophic automata with their impenetrably enigmatic characters, whose simulated artlessness arouses distrust even in the philosophers themselves. They are more aware than anybody how unreliable is that air of simplicity which education gives young ladies. Every woman who behaves licentiously seemed as artless as the next one, before her marriage. The veneer of chastity is a mask which does not deceive men, does not hasten marriage and has no other purpose but to encourage women to dissemble. We know that a whisper of love will create passions in them and develop a still unknown character, the goodness or malignity of which is an unfathomable mystery even to experienced men. In short, this nonsense of a philosophical education is just a vicious circle, like all civilised customs, and ends by bringing down on men the very disgrace they sought to avoid. What bewilders the philosophers is the realisation that whatever they do results in the cuckoldry they are so afraid of. So they continually change their educational methods, with the sole result that they disguise girls' desires, but do not change them.

Naturam expellas furca, tamen usque recurret.¹

They become alarmed if women are brought up to understand the arts or sciences because they do not want these young people to be interested in anything except looking after the house. They say as much quite explicitly, even in plays. Their only interest is in gain-saying love of pleasure; they foresee nothing but a future of cuckoldry, they are cantankerous and interfering about women's tastes, and they are as touchy as eunuchs in a harem.

And when one does manage to sort out their educational methods, which change from day to day (because new moral treatises appear every day, none of which agrees with the preceding

¹ Horace, *Epistles* I, x, 24 ('You may drive out nature with a pitchfork, but it will always hasten back').

ones), what benefit can girls draw from them? Do those who are loaded with moral precepts [rather than money] find husbands? No, they are left alone with their virtues. There are only two levers which bring about marriages in Civilisation: fortune and intrigue. Fathers know this, which is why they are more concerned to give their daughters dowries than to educate them. As for intrigue, fathers do not excel at this, and despite their attempts to coax men into marriage, they can be outwitted by any girl with the slightest sophistication who can manage the affair herself, using other weapons apart from virtue. Experienced young women know how to tell the more modest ones about good catches, and to make good marriages, without anybody's help, whereas finding a match for an Agnes, for a nicely brought up young lady, requires a scandalous amount of mediation by godparents, relatives, lawyers and philosophers who set about some young man, remonstrating and driving him into the trap, just as butchers and their dogs surround a reluctant ox and drive it into the slaughter-house.

Thus are marriages contrived. Men only get caught if they are surrounded by traps and harassed by lawyers and moralists. They would not be so stubborn if marriage was really a guarantee of happiness, as it is for those who marry a rich wife.

How is it that a century so given to experiments of all kinds, a century which has had the courage to topple thrones and altars, has bent the knee so slavishly to prejudices about love, when these are the only ones there would have been some benefit in attacking? And why has nobody thought to try out any of the much-abused plans for liberty in this area? There was every reason to see what effect it would have on love, because the happiness of men is proportionate to the freedom enjoyed by women. Imagine that some way was discovered of reducing all women, without exception, to the chastity demanded of them, such that no woman could make love before marriage, nor have any man after her marriage except her husband, with the result that, for the whole of his life, no man could have any woman except the housewife he had married. What would men think about the prospect of being reduced, for their entire lifetime, to enjoying nobody save a wife whom they had stopped liking the day after their wedding? Every single man would want to strangle the originator of a discovery that threatened to abolish love affairs, and the most ardent opponents of such an order would be the

philosophers, who are deeply committed to seduction and adultery. We can therefore see that all men, in their own lives, are at odds with their maxims about chastity, and that the happiness of the male sex is proportionate to wives' resistance to the precepts of conjugal fidelity. Their rigorous observance would drive all men *individually* to despair, including the philosophers who, being the most given to seduction, would be most discomfited by the triumph of their maxims about love, as they were in 1789 when their administrative systems were put to the test.

A further conclusion to be drawn from this discussion is that civilised man is entirely ignorant about the use of passions in the moral system, for if the modification I have proposed in regard to women were adopted, namely the distinction between *amorous minority* and *majority*, several extremely advantageous results would follow, which would greatly benefit civilised morality. Among other abuses which would be ended is *Amorous Confusion*, which is one of the sixteen characteristics of Civilisation. I shall set it beside *the amorous corporations*: these have a six-period character, the details of which everybody will appreciate as it is the closest period to our own, some of whose domestic customs, such as the incoherent household, it retains.

Amorous corporations

This heading designates our current habit of admitting no gradations of vice or virtue in love affairs; in the case of adultery, for example, all conjugal infidelity is equally blameworthy in the eyes of the philosophers, and they call down the wrath of heaven and earth on a woman for the slightest fault. Yet there are degrees of offence in adultery as in everything else: relations with a sterile woman, or with a woman who is already pregnant, indeed any copulation which does not result in pregnancy, is no more than a peccadillo, especially when the adultery is conditional, tacitly tolerated by the husband. We must therefore distinguish these various minor offences from truly culpable adultery, such as causes the break-up of households or results in heterogeneous offspring. By refusing to admit these distinctions, by trying to confound and condemn all kinds of adultery as the same, they render them all excusable and treat them all with the leniency which only some deserve. Rebellious opinion has attacked the persecutors with ridicule, and odious acts

of treachery have been excused and encouraged under the name of *cuckoldry* because the law confuses them with much lesser offences.

They have thus failed in their purpose through an excess of injustice and oppression, and instead have brought about the triumph of deceit and corruption in love. Because the philosophers regard all extra-marital pleasure as a crime, it becomes necessary to deny everything and indulge in endless deceit, which is why all wives and daughters pretend to be models of fidelity or chastity; but if there were only admitted to be gradations of virtue and vice in affairs of the heart we would see the birth of a morality as loyal and favourable to truth as to pleasure.

If the distinction between amorous majority and minority were admitted, emancipated women over the age of eighteen would be classed into three main bodies, namely:

- 1st: *Wives*, who only have one man in perpetuity, as in Civilisation.
- 2nd: *Damsels* or *demi-Ladies*, who can change lovers provided they take them in succession, one at a time, and that the separation is mutually agreed.
- 3rd: *Galantes*, whose rules are even less strict.

Each of these three classes is subdivided into three types or gradations, defined in lists of names in each town or canton. Any woman may change corporation at will.

This order of things (whose subsidiary arrangements would take too long to describe) would bring into being most of the reforms of amorous life that are attempted in vain today. It would, for example, prevent girls from being seduced and abandoned. The reason we see so many women vegetating all their lives as they wait for a husband, or else giving way to debauchery, is because men can mistreat the women they court by constant delays, and the women can see no end to their desolate celibacy. If the end was fixed at eighteen, though, a seducer would have no chance to misuse a young woman: if she gave in to him she would be ignominiously suspected or rejected by the body of maidens; and she is further sustained by the knowledge that she has only to wait until she is eighteen, at which point her suitors will be obliged to speak, and if they do not, the maiden will join the body of *Damsels*, so as not to waste her youth and beauty. Having acquired the right to take a lover, she certainly will not choose anyone

who might have tried to entice her with offers of marriage: that is a trick young women do not forgive.

Adultery and cuckoldry would thus hardly exist any more. A seducer would have little success with married women, because they would risk being suspected even if there were no material proof, and classified in the lists as questionable or, if the offence was established, entered on the list of unfaithful women. The wives would be watched by the bodies of Damsels and Galantes, and would thus not dare to tie the conjugal knot unless they had a definite liking for fidelity. Consequently people would only marry very late, at an age when their passions were calmer, and marriage would regain its true purpose, which is the support of old age; marriage is a withdrawal from society, a rational bond, designed for old people, not for youth.

The prejudice which ridicules men for marrying girls already possessed by somebody else would therefore disappear. The Damsels would be in no way degraded by having had lovers because they would have waited until they were eighteen, as the law demands, before taking them. Men would marry them with no more qualms than they now have about marrying a widow with children. If there is some indignity attached to being the second to possess a woman in marriage, why are men so eager to marry rich widows and take on the burden of educating children who are not their own, and who may indeed have different fathers, if the widow has been *galante*? None of these considerations is deemed important, yet men feel compromised if they marry a girl who has merely been sexually active without having children. It would seem from this that our ideas about women's virtue and honour are simply prejudices which vary according to the legislation in force. All that is needed is a law that reunites nature and public opinion and treats sexual behaviour as a decent pleasure instead of absurdly declaring it a vice in women and regarding it as a gracious accomplishment in men. Men will then only be able to attain to such gentility to the extent that women want to give themselves up to vice: an amusing contradiction, but no more amusing than our civilised customs and opinions!^b

^b Adultery is declared a crime and yet in the best society a man's reputation is proportionate to the number of his acknowledged and publicised adulteries. People admire a Richelieu or an Alcibiades who procured an infinity of married women:

The selfishness and the spirit of servility which the married state engenders will thus be weakened. The principal victim of marriage is the character of women: they take on all their husband's vices without adopting any of his good qualities as a necessary consequence of the pliability they become imbued with. Marry a young Agnes to Robespierre and in a month she will be as fierce as he and applaud all his crimes. This inclination to servility in wives would be corrected by competition with the Damsels, whose dominant idea would be not to identify with any man's character as they could exchange him, but instead to affect a noble, independent character and remain completely detached from all the vices inherent in the conjugal state, including selfishness, which marriage

but what opinion do they have of a man who wishes to obey the law and the commandments of religion and keeps his virginity as a wedding gift for his wife? He becomes an object of universal ridicule. In the case of adultery, as of duelling, the law is neutralised by public opinion, which only favours deceit, even shameless profligacy, in matters of love. A poor girl who lets herself get pregnant without the municipality's permission is branded with shame and declared blameworthy, even though she may have been faithful to her lover; but compare her conduct with that of decent, well-bred women. Yet what is a decent woman in France? A lady who commonly has three men at once, namely her husband, her titular lover and some former holder of that right who returns from time to time to exercise it, under the guise of a family friend; all without counting occasional brief liaisons. While leading this sort of life, she is perfectly entitled to be regarded as decent and well-bred. This is not to be taken as censure of ladies who enjoy themselves, as they will never have as many lovers as their husbands have mistresses, both before and after marriage.

If the injustices of public opinion are absurd, its contradictions are even more so, as witness the situation of girls who become pregnant: their pregnancy is a crime, and so is voluntary abortion; yet if they are concerned about their honour, they must look for ways of keeping it by removing the sign of their weakness. There is absolutely nothing blameworthy about girls having abortions at the beginning of their pregnancy, before the foetus is alive: it is public opinion that is absurd in declaring honour to be lost by the entirely innocent act of making a child. Sweden's customs are much more sensible on this point than those in the rest of Europe: they do not regard a pregnant girl as dishonoured and indeed forbid masters to dismiss domestic servants for becoming pregnant when they have committed no other offence. A very wise custom for a country which needs to increase its population.

But what is the point of dwelling on the absurdity of our opinions? Nobody has been a better judge of them than their own propagandists who, seeing no way of reconciling civilisation and reason, have adopted the charlatan tactic of vastly inflating the effectiveness of their nostrum, civilisation. However much one discounts the merit of that medicament, it is still to accord it too much value, as it has none at all. That is what the philosophers' claims add up to when they dreamed up the idea of telling us that civilised society was the perfect result of the perfection of perfectibility.

elevates to the highest degree, so that married couples become extraordinarily distrustful of others like them. There is nothing harder than to bring two couples together and to get them to live in the same household. This incompatibility extends from the masters to the servants, and every household is extremely reluctant to take on a married couple as domestic staff. They are aware that the conjugal spirit unites the couple in a league against everybody around them and stifles noble passions and liberal ideas. Thus the class of married people is always the most guileful and the most indifferent to public or private misfortune; and its antisocial nature is so well known that it is thought to be great praise to say of a man that marriage has not changed him, and that he still has the pleasant character of a boy.

Thus we would see the reputations of vice and virtue reduced to their true worth. I have observed that our customs make no allowances for gradations of vice: all women are obliged to pretend that they are virtuous, a claim which always favours the most licentious ladies because they minimise the number of lovers they have had. How many decent women does one come across who have enjoyed twenty or more men and who, by their artful confidences, give the impression that they have only had half a dozen! Whereas some poor woman who has had no more than two or three is defamed more than those who have outfaced criticism. This confused state of affairs would be removed by the division of women into the various corporations, sorted into different characters. I repeat that the three amorous sisterhoods I have described would be subdivided into nine subsidiary types, and just as there would be three lists of *Constant Wives*, *Questionable Wives* and *Unfaithful Wives*, so there would also be three lists of *Damsels* and three lists of *Galantes*. This system would concur with the order of passionate Series which I have defined in Note A, and as two transitional groups need to be placed at the ends of each Series, those groups would be the *maidens* and a group of *independent women*, with the former taking no part in sensual love and the latter observing no rules at all in the exercise of that passion.

Such an order is the least of the regulatory developments that could be given to amorous relations; any system which restricts the passions more than that cannot avoid falling into the vices of equal-

ity and philosophical confusion, the odious results of which we see today.

Vices of the system which oppresses love

It is noteworthy that in the current disorder of amorous customs women have obtained the only privilege which ought to be denied them, that of making the husband accept a child which is not his, and on whose features nature has inscribed the name of the true father. So in the one case where the wife is culpable she enjoys the full protection of the law, and in the one case where the man has a genuine right to be outraged, public opinion and the law concur in aggravating the insult. Oh! how can civilised men, so persecutory when it comes to their wives' pleasures, agree so meekly to bow their heads beneath the yoke, to shelter the fruit of obvious adultery, to share with it their name and possessions, when they ought to send it to a foundlings' home? Here indeed we see the fulfilment of philosophy's design, for it is truly in marriage that men form a family of brothers, where possessions are common to neighbours' children as to our own. The generosity of these decent civilised husbands will be an endless source of mirth in the future, and we shall need some entertaining pages such as these to help make reading our annals bearable when they have so often been written in letters of blood.

The way husbands tolerate this most culpable offence is part and parcel of the general inconsistency that reigns in amorous matters. It is an area in which we find religion and the theatre publicly preaching a contradictory morality; next door to a temple where they teach a horror of amorous intrigue and sensual pleasures we see a circus, where the audience only goes to practise stratagems of seduction and to look for sensual pleasure. The young woman who goes to hear a sermon on the respect she owes her husband and her superiors will go an hour later to the theatre to take lessons in the art of deceiving a husband, a tutor or some other Argus; and God knows which of the two lessons bears the more fruit. These scandalous contradictions are repeated throughout the civilised mechanism; and when one looks at such bizarre behaviour with detachment, one must surely think that the whole of Civilisation is

a society of madmen, all the more mad since they are aware of the principle of social improvement and refuse to make use of it. They know that we only advanced from barbarism to Civilisation by alleviating the servitude of women: this experimental idea induced them to extend female privileges, which should have resulted in passage to the sixth period, then to the seventh, through the complete freedom of women. We can see from this that the path of social progress was known and easy, and that we would have passed down it the moment they wanted to move away from the philosophic system which oppressed women. Do not the philosophers themselves realise that perpetual fidelity in love is contrary to human nature? And that even if a few simple-minded members of both sexes can be persuaded to adopt that morality, the mass of men and women will never be reduced to it? And that any legislation which requires behaviour so incompatible with the passions can only produce theoretical absurdity and practical chaos, since the whole body of society will be tacitly in league to condone infractions of it? Is this not the consequence of the amorous system which has been dominant for the last 2,500 years? It is simply a continuation of the oppressive customs that reigned in the dark ages, customs which it is ridiculous to demand in a century which prides itself on reason and respect for the designs of nature.

There is nothing surprising about the fact that the ancient philosophers of Greece and Rome disregarded the interests of women since those rhetoricians were all enthusiastic advocates of pederasty, which was held in high esteem in fashionable antiquity. They heaped ridicule on anyone who consorted with women, a passion they regarded as dishonourable. The code of Lycurgus incited young men to sodomitic love which the Spartans called *the path of virtue*. They also encouraged this sort of love in the less austere republics; the Thebans formed a battalion of young pederasts, and these practices won the unanimous approbation of the philosophers who all, from the virtuous Socrates to the fastidious Anacreon, paraded their attachment to sodomy and their contempt for women, who were relegated to second-class status, shut up as in a harem, and banished from men's company.

As these bizarre tastes have not found favour in modern society, we might reasonably be surprised that our philosophers have inherited the classical thinkers' hatred of women, and that they continue to dis-

parage their sex because of a small number of stratagems forced on women by the burden of their oppression, since any word or thought of theirs that concurs with nature's design is turned into a crime.

The philosophers are so imbued with this tyrannical attitude that they make great play of a few shrews in antiquity who responded with asperity to words of courtesy. They praise the Germans who have their wives lashed for one act of infidelity. They even debase the female sex by their flattery of it, for what can be more inconsistent than Diderot's claim that to write to women '*you must dip your pen in the rainbow and sprinkle what you have written with the dust of butterfly wings*'?² Women might reply to the philosophers: your Civilisation persecutes us if we obey nature; we are obliged to behave artificially, and to attend only to promptings that go against our desires. In order to make us swallow your doctrines you have to play on our illusions and use the language of deceit, as you do with soldiers when you lull them with promises of laurels and immortality to make them forget their wretched situation. If they were really happy they would welcome being addressed in straightforward, truthful language of the sort which you are very careful to avoid. The same goes for women: if they were free and happy they would not be so eager to embrace illusions and cajolery, and you would not need the help of the rainbow and butterflies to write to them. If the military and the female sex, in fact the whole of the common people, have to be deluded all the time, then that is a serious indictment of philosophy for failing to organise anything in this world except misery and servitude. And when it mocks women's vices it is actually criticising itself, for it is philosophy which produces these vices through a social system which represses women's rights and abilities from childhood and throughout their lives, forcing them to resort to deception if they are to obey their natural impulses.

Any attempt to judge women by the behavioural failings they display in Civilisation is akin to judging men by the character of the Russian peasant, who has no idea at all of honour or liberty, or to judging beavers by the stupefaction they show in captivity, whereas working together in the wild they become the most intelligent of the quadrupeds. The same contrast will obtain between the enslaved women of

² Diderot, *Sur les femmes*.

Civilisation and the free women of the combined order; they will surpass men in their dedication to work, in loyalty and in nobility, yet outside the free and combined state woman, like the captive beaver or the Russian peasant, becomes a creature so inferior to her destiny and capacities that it is easy to despise her if she is judged by superficial appearances. We should not be surprised, therefore, that Mahomet, the Council of Mâcon and the philosophers have all debated whether women have souls, and have only thought about forging chains for women, never about breaking them.

Women seem to need masters more than liberty, so they generally give preference among their lovers to the ones whose conduct least merits it. Yet how can women escape their penchant for servility and betrayal when their education has taught them from childhood up to stifle their natural character and adapt themselves to the first man whom chance, intrigue or avarice chooses to be their husband?

One surprising thing is that women have always shown themselves superior to men when they have been able to develop their natural abilities on the throne, where their crown ensures that they are free to use them. It is common knowledge that out of eight free, unmarried woman sovereigns, seven have had glorious reigns. Whereas seven out of every eight kings are generally weak. And if some women have not shone on the throne, it is because, like Mary Stuart, they were hesitant and evasive in the face of amorous prejudices which they had to dare to overcome. Where they have taken this course, what men would have been able to wield the sceptre better? The Elizabeths and Catherines did not wage war themselves, but they knew how to choose their generals, which is enough. Have women not been able to teach men lessons in every other branch of government? What prince has shown more resolution than Maria-Theresa who, at a time when her subjects' loyalty was wavering and her ministers were dumbfounded, took it upon herself to reinvigorate everybody's courage? By her manner alone she was able to intimidate the Diet of Hungary when it was far from disposed in her favour, she harangued the Magnates in Latin until her enemies were prepared to swear on their sabres that they would die for her. This is an indication of the prodigies that female rivalry could perform in a social order which allowed women's abilities free development.

And would not you, the oppressive sex, outdo women in shortcomings if a servile education had brought you up, like them, to think of yourselves as automata designed to submit to prejudice and to grovel to the master that chance has brought you? Have we not seen your claims to superiority confounded by Catherine, who trampled the male sex under foot? By her appointment of favourites she dragged man in the mud and proved that, despite his freedom, he could debase himself further than women, whose degradation is forced on them and therefore excusable. To put an end to the tyranny of men there would have to be a century of a third sex, both male and female, and stronger than the male. This new sex would prove by the rod that men, as much as women, are made for its pleasure; and then you would hear men protesting against the tyranny of the hermaphroditic sex and admitting that might was not the only guarantee of right. So why do they refuse to grant women the privileges and independence they would demand from the third sex?

This does not claim to be a critique of civilised education, nor am I implying that women should be inspired with a sense of freedom. Every social period must, of course, bring up its youth to respect the ruling absurdities. Just as in the barbarian order it is necessary to brutalise women and persuade them that they do not have souls so that they are prepared to be sold in the market and shut up in harems, so women in Civilisation have to be stupefied from childhood so that they fit in with philosophical dogmas, and accept the servitude of marriage and the degradation of falling under the control of a husband whose character may be the opposite of their own. So just as I would blame a barbarian who brought up his daughters in the customs of a Civilisation in which they were never to live, so I would blame a civilised man who brought up his daughters in a spirit of liberty and reason appropriate to the six and seventh periods which we have not yet reached.

But to the extent that I am indicting contemporary education and the servile spirit it induces in women, I do so by comparison with other societies in which there will be no point in distorting their character through prejudices. I am demonstrating to them the important role they will be able to play if they follow the example of women who have overcome the influence of their education and

resisted the oppressive system necessitated by the bond of marriage. By drawing attention to women who have been able to realise their potential, from viragos like Maria-Theresa to those of gentler character like the Ninons and the Sévigné's, I have provided a basis for saying that women, in a state of liberty, will outdo men in all mental and physical functions which are not dependent on bodily strength.

Men already seem to have a presentiment of this, becoming frightened and indignant when women belie the prejudiced accusation of their inferiority. The most striking outburst of masculine jealousy has been directed against women writers: philosophy has denied them academic honours and consigned them ignominiously to the domestic sphere.

Yet this affront to female scholars was surely deserved. A slave who tries to ape his master merits no more than a contemptuous glance. Why should women become involved in the trite glory of writing books, adding a few more volumes to the millions of useless ones already in existence? Women should have been producing liberators, not writers, political leaders like Spartacus, geniuses who could plan ways of leading their sex out of degradation.

It is women who suffer most under Civilisation, and it is women who should be attacking it. What kind of existence do they have today? They live in continual privation, even in industry, where men have taken over even the most meticulous work with the needle and the pen, while women struggle with heavy work on the land. Is it not a scandal to see strong men of thirty bent over a desk, or using their rough arms to carry cups of coffee, as if there were not enough women and children to attend to the delicate jobs in offices and households?

What means of subsistence are available to women who have no money? The bedpost or their physical charms, if they have any. Yes, prostitution, naked or veiled, is their only means of support, and philosophy would seek to deny them even that. This is the abject condition they are reduced to by Civilisation and the conjugal slavery they have never even thought about attacking. Since the discovery of Tahiti, their failure to do so is unpardonable, as its manners and customs stand as an admonition from nature which ought to have suggested the idea of a social order capable of uniting large-scale industry and amorous freedom. This was the only prob-

lem worth the attention of women writers, and their apathy in the face of it is one of the causes of men's contempt for them. A slave is never more contemptible than when blind submission convinces the oppressor that his victim was born for slavery.

But instead of looking for ways of freeing their sex, educated women have espoused philosophical egotism; they have shut their eyes to the subjection of the companions whose sad fate they have been able to escape; they have not sought ways to free them; and that is why sovereigns who might have been able to help their sex and who, like Catherine, had the good sense to scorn prejudice, have done nothing to liberate women. But if they had published some plans to that end, they would have been welcomed and tried out as soon as a fair-minded prince or princess appeared on the throne.

The study of this process of liberation was a task which fell to female scholars. By their neglect of it they have tarnished their literary reputation; it will be eclipsed, and posterity will only see their egotism and their degradation. For although women writers are generally capable of escaping the bonds of prejudice and enjoying themselves, they nevertheless have a very poor track record on the issue.

It seems to me that the tyranny of public opinion was enough to irritate honourable women and incite them to attack prejudice, not by useless declarations, but by seeking for some innovation that might protect both sexes from the terrible and degrading condition of marriage.

Yet far from lightening women's chains, the bias against their liberty continued to increase: three accidents contributed to the contemporary establishment of a spirit of oppression against the weaker sex.

- 1st. The introduction of venereal disease, the danger of which turns sensual pleasure into debauchery, and tends to restrict the freedom of liaison between the sexes. (This disease will be eradicated by the progressive household.)
- 2nd. The influence of catholicism, whose dogmatic hostility to the pleasures of the flesh deprives them of any influence over the social system and has added the reinforcement of religious prejudice to the ancient tyranny of the bond of marriage.

- 3rd. The birth of Mohammedanism, which increased the misery and degradation of women in barbarism, and thereby made the less deplorable condition of women in Civilisation appear in a misleadingly positive light.

These three incidents together proved disastrous, and closed the way more than ever to any improvement founded on the loosening of women's chains, unless by chance some ruler had appeared who was hostile to prejudice and sufficiently far-sighted to try out in one of his provinces the amorous arrangements I have described. This act of justice was all that nature asked of our reason, and it is as a punishment for our rebellion against her wishes that we have failed to progress to the sixth and seventh periods and have remained *twenty-three centuries too long* in the darkness of philosophy and the horror of Civilisation.

Second Account: On the splendour of the combined order

To familiarise yourselves with the luxury I shall be describing, you should re-read Note A, on the organisation of the progressive Series, in order to understand how an order so contrary to our customs will give diametrically opposite results, and produce as much magnificence as our incoherent labours produce misery and anxiety.

Order of topics dealt with in the second Account

The splendour of the arts and sciences.

Entertainment and knight-errantry.

Combined gastronomy,

Considered

in its political sense,

in its material sense,

in its passionate sense.

The amorous policy for recruiting armies.

You may complain that this is confusing, because the division is a *post-hoc* one, as I observed of the first account.

You must not lose sight of the fact that, in order to put the wonders I shall describe into operation, the combined order will have the help of four new passions which we have little or no sense of in the civilised order, where everything is opposed to their development.

These passions, which I have named

- 10th. *The intermeshing,*
- 11th. *The varying,*
- 12th. *The graduating,*
- 13th. *Harmonyism,*¹

can only work freely in the progressive Series; and as we are not used to such delightful passions they will seem as new as love seems to young people when they experience it for the first time.

This view may not seem very comforting to those who have already spent their best years in the gloom of Civilisation, but they should take heart: these new pleasures will be for people of all ages, and their anticipation should not be a cause for despair except during the interval that must elapse until the foundation of the combined order.

Splendour of the arts and sciences

Before considering the splendour of the arts and sciences in the combined order, it is necessary to understand the immense rewards conferred on artists and scientists.

Each year every phalanx votes by a simple majority on a list of the inventions and compositions which have appeared in the course of the previous twelve months and been acclaimed. Each product is assessed by the competent Series: tragedies by the literature and poetry Series, and so on for each new creation.

If a work is deemed worthy of recompense, the sum to be awarded to the author is then assessed: Racine, for example, might receive twenty sous for his tragedy *Athalie*.

Once the phalanx has drawn up a list of the prizes it has awarded, it is sent to administrators who scrutinise the votes of the canton and draw up a list for the province. This is then sent to the regional administration, which does the same thing with all the provincial lists. The vote-counting thus ascends by stages until it reaches the ministries in Constantinople where the final scrutiny is conducted and the names of the authors who have won the vote of the majority of the globe's phalanxes are published. The winning author is

¹ The 1841 edition, following Fourier's annotated copy, has: '10th The Dissident (or Cabalist), 11th The variant (or Butterfly), 12th The Enmeshing (or Composite), 13th Harmonyism (or Unityism)'.

awarded the average of the sums voted by that majority: thus if a million phalanxes voted for 10 sous, a million for 20 and a million for 30, the prize awarded would be 20 sous.

Let us suppose that Racine was voted 1 livre for the tragedy *Athalie*, and that Franklin received 3 livres for his invention of the lightning conductor; the minister would give Racine drafts for the sum of 3 million livres, and Franklin for 9 million, drawn on the congresses of their regions, and the total cost would be shared among the 3 million phalanxes of the globe.

In addition, Franklin and Racine would receive a decoration and be declared citizens of the globe, and wherever they happened to find themselves, in every phalanx they would enjoy the same privileges as the magnates of the canton.

To the authors, these rewards are enormous, although their cost to each phalanx is hardly perceptible. And they can be repeated frequently. Racine and Franklin might well win another similar sum the following year by producing another product that obtained the vote of a majority of the globe. Even the smallest works can be worth immense sums to their authors, as long as they are singled out by public opinion; if the globe awarded

to Haydn, 1 sou for a symphony,
to Lebrun, 2 sous for an ode,

Haydn would receive 150,000 livres and Lebrun, 300,000 livres for works which perhaps took them no more than a month to complete, and they could earn this sum several times in a single year.

As for works like those by sculptors, which cannot be shown to everyone on the globe, there are other ways of ensuring that these can be rewarded by the whole world. The combined order can thus ensure a huge fortune to anyone who possesses a major talent, in any area, and neither artist nor scientist needs to canvass support or find patronage.

Let us imagine, for instance, that Pradon¹ has canvassed successfully enough to interest twenty or so neighbouring cantons (where he has friends) in his version of *Phèdre*, and that he has managed to have it acted there. Then let us imagine that those cantons are weak enough to award Pradon a prize: what good will the vote of 20 phalanxes do

¹ Nicolas Pradon (1632-98), *Phèdre et Hyppolyte* (1677).

him, out of a total of three million? And think of the shame that will fall on those twenty phalanxes when the ministry in Constantinople publishes the breakdown of the votes. Looking at the lists, they will see that an unknown *Phèdre*, written by a man called Pradon, has found supporters in twenty cantons out of the whole world, namely such and such places, all the supporters being friends and associates of the afore-mentioned Pradon. It is easy to see how an announcement of that sort would shame the author, and the twenty cantons who supported him, in the eyes of the whole world. So what in fact would happen, despite all Pradon's scheming, is that the twenty cantons whose support he solicits will not want to expose themselves to insult, nor give their vote to such a mediocre play; far from being able to hope for 1,500 thousand votes or the votes of half the globe, it does not even win support twenty leagues away, in the cantons where Pradon has no close friends.

Thus in the combined order intrigue or patronage work against bad writers rather than helping them, whereas a man with real talent rapidly attains the height of fame and fortune without the aid of either. There is only one way to succeed, and that is to please the majority of the world's phalanxes. Exceptions will be extremely rare. If some important person, such as a relative of the emperor, decided to write a bad play or a bad poem, the work would become known because of its author's position, and the globe might be indulgent enough to give it a prize; but there are very few individuals whom the whole globe would consider worthy of such partiality, and the little favour they might win would present no obstacle to the success of the genuine talents which at present seldom achieve success, because they do not have the means to develop, do not receive adequate recompense, and lack the skill in intrigue without which nothing in Civilisation succeeds.

Let us now turn from the rewards of the combined order to a consideration of their concrete influence on, for example, entertainment.

Entertainment and knight-errantry

I said that there will be ways of enabling the globe to reward any artist or scientist whose talents are localised, and cannot easily be judged by the whole world. The skill of a famous surgeon or a famous singer

cannot be seen all over the globe in the way that the widely distributed works of a poet or engraver can be. But they will receive an equal share of the rewards I have described, which can rapidly run into millions for those of transcendent merit. Every poor man will therefore do his best to nurture some talent in his children, and the moment the child achieves a modicum of success in the arts or sciences, the father will be overcome with joy and overwhelmed with congratulations. All around him people will be saying, 'Your child is going to be a famous writer, or a famous playwright, he will win decorations, he will earn *millions*.' And everybody knows how gratifying such predictions are to the ears of poor parents [or even rich ones].

Which people then will be the keenest to study? It will be the poor and their children. And as the theatre is a pathway to any work in the arts and sciences, even mechanics, which is much used on the stage, poor people will be eager for nothing so much as to see their children working and developing their abilities in the phalanx's theatre under the direction of the rich, who, in every country, have a particular fondness for running theatres. All children will consequently be used to appearing, from a very early age, on the dramatic or lyric stage, and will join a Series for declamation, singing, dancing or playing instruments. They will all appear, whether rich or poor, because the phalanx, as it puts on plays for itself and its neighbours, will become an amateur theatre company: thus a canton with a population of 1,000 will have at least 800 actors or musicians who can perform on holidays, as every child will have been brought up on the stage, and will spontaneously have joined one of the branches of the theatre. In the combined order a little child of four will not dare put himself forward for admission to the chorus of Neophytes (see Note A) and the parade if he cannot already take his part in the dances and movements of the theatre.

In the chapter on *The Study of Passionate Attraction* (First part), we saw that nature distributes all the dispositions necessary to excel in the functions of society among 800 people at random. Thus a canton with a population of 1,000 will necessarily include great actors in every genre, as long as everybody's dispositions have been developed and cultivated since childhood. This is what will happen in the combined order: children are freed from the tyranny of prejudices and institutions; they turn naturally to the jobs for which nature has destined them, and their progress in them is entirely due

to competition. The only stratagem needed to make excellent actors of them is to take them *en masse* to the neighbouring cantons to see the productions put on by their rivals, after which they will strive to outdo them.

There is no need to ask who will pay for the theatres or opera houses. There only needs one to be built for three million to arise, one after another. If the cantons have a proper sense of competition they will not rest until they have equalled their neighbours; and as far as building a theatre goes, they all have Series of masons, carpenters, mechanics, painters, etc. and they will be able to pay for the building materials by putting on whatever kind of production they like.

If every phalanx has a minimum of seven or eight hundred actors, musicians and dancers, it will be able to provide itself with all the entertainments enjoyed by a great capital city like Paris or London. Even the poorest canton in the Alps or the Pyrenees will then possess an opera house comparable to the one in Paris; I could even say superior to it, as in matters of the arts and the refinement of taste, civilised education is incapable of the wonders that will be achieved by the natural system of education.

If the actors of one canton are augmented by those of the neighbouring cantons, imagine the splendour of the holiday entertainments when all the virtuosi from a number of nearby phalanxes join together to provide a gathering of talents which it would take a dozen capitals like Paris to produce! And as even the poorest man will be able to watch these entertainments, he will experience more enjoyment than any potentate in Civilisation.

There is another splendid aspect to this good fortune, if we assume that there will be visits by travelling enthusiasts, which will be a frequent occurrence in the combined order, when travellers will form great caravans of knight-errantry in search of adventures, each displaying one particular character. One day there may be the *Rose Bands*, who come from Persia and have a dramatic and lyrical character, a few days later the *Lilac Bands* arrive from Japan and reveal a *poetic and literary* character; and, over the course of a year, the successive visits of these caravans provide wonderful feasts of enjoyment for every lover of the arts and sciences. There will be bands of every character, and they will not accept anybody, of either

sex, into their corporation, who will not maintain the honour of the troop.

Let us assume that the Rose Bands from Persia arrive at the outskirts of Paris; they are made up of three hundred male and three hundred female knights-errant, all chosen from the Persians most accomplished in the dramatic and lyric arts. The bands decide to stop at the phalanx of Saint-Cloud: they arrive with great pomp and set up a vast number of flags given to them on their travels, on which are inscribed *the exploits of the Rose Bands of Persia*.

On their arrival at Saint-Cloud they are received by the resident knighthood, which is composed of rich people who enjoy music and drama and have formed a corporation to pay the bands of their favourite character and to feast and entertain them.

As the Rose Bands are formed from the Persian elite, every man or woman in the company will have been a Molé or a Contat⁴ in their own phalanx. They are all among the best singers, dancers and instrumentalists in Persia, and their performances are so outstanding that they defy description. The region also brings together its main talents to put on a display for them.

Meanwhile the *Hydrangea Bands of Mexico* arrive and set up in competition with the *Rose Bands of Persia*, and the two troops try to surpass each other in talent in the theatres of the phalanxes of Saint-Cloud, Neuilly, Marly, etc. If the Rose Band is deemed to be the better, it will receive a flag from the region to be displayed with its other trophies, bearing the legend 'Defeat of the Hydrangea Bands of Mexico at the Saint-Cloud phalanx'.

In the course of their travels, bands of the same character group together in preparation for encounters with their rivals so that they can challenge them to displays of skill which will enchant the region in which these battles take place, after which the bands take their separate ways, not travelling together as our regiments would. If the Rose Bands have indicated that their next stopping-place will be the phalanx of Loiret, near Orleans, they will find deputations at

⁴ François-René Contat (1734-1802) was one of the great eighteenth-century French actors, and a leading member of the Comédie-Française. Louise Françoise Contat (1760-1813), who also made her début with the Comédie-Française, became famous for her comedy roles, especially in Molière and Beaumarchais.

Saint-Cloud from the phalanxes between there and Orléans; these will be made up of the most charming men and women, whose task is to captivate and enveigle the Rose knights, attracting them to cantons off the main road. Each phalanx will make a case for entertaining them for a day, and every knight, male and female, will find the same eagerness in the phalanxes they agree to visit as the whole band did at Saint-Cloud. Only the band's leaders stay on the main road, and then on a predetermined day they all meet up again at Orléans, preparatory to a grand entry into the phalanx of Loiret where they will distinguish themselves by new feats of excellence. Thus will travel these bodies of enthusiasts, in their caravans of knight-errantry, leading a joyful existence wherever they go, profiting from the entire human race and never incurring any expense, as all their expenses everywhere are met by the resident knight-hood.

We can now understand that, in the matter of entertainment, the poorest man will, at no cost to himself, enjoy pleasures a hundred times finer than anything rich sovereigns are able to witness today; for he will frequently see contests between thousands of famous actors, singers, dancers and instrumentalists, any one of whom would today arouse the enthusiasm of the city and the court, while the countryside is entirely deprived of such entertainment, and even towns with a population of 100,000 cannot support a large theatre. How mean, how pitifully languishing, the pleasures of Civilisation are compared to those the least significant canton on the globe will enjoy in the combined order!

Combined gastronomy, considered in its political, material and passionate senses

Politics of combined gastronomy

I have given some idea of the tremendous differences, as far as entertainments are concerned, between the pleasures of the combined order and those of Civilisation, and of the extent to which the poorest canton's amusements will surpass those of our most opulent capital cities. The same comparison holds good for all kinds of pleasure, particularly the principal ones, like love and good food. Soon the amorous escapades of a Richelieu or a Ninon will seem

petty and pitiable compared with the amorous adventures that the combined order will guarantee even the least favoured men and women. The same will be true of the fare of the modern Apicius, whose feasts, when set beside those of the combined order, will look like the meals of gastronomically ignorant bumpkins.

Questions of love and good food are not taken seriously by the civilised, who do not understand the importance God attaches to our pleasures. Sensual pleasure is the only weapon God can use to control us and bring us to carry out his designs; he rules the universe by *attraction and not by constraint*, so his creatures' enjoyment occupies the most important place on God's calculations.

To show how wisely he has prepared our pleasures, I shall speak about the excellent meals which will prevail in the new order. Readers might perhaps prefer a digression on love in the new order, but such a discussion might offend prejudices, whereas nobody will be offended by a foretaste of the extended pleasures of the table, which are still so limited today.

Good food only accounts for half the pleasures of the table, which need to be stimulated by a judicious choice of dining companions, something that Civilisation is powerless to achieve. The richest and most refined of men cannot, *even in his own household*, assemble such a well-assorted collection of guests as will be seen in the combined order, and which even the poorest man will find at all his meals, and which will change constantly in the course of every year.

It is because guests at our banquets are so often unsuited to one another that civilised women care so little about the pleasures of the table. Women set more store than men by the choice of their fellow-diners; men are more exacting about the quality of the dishes. The two pleasures, *exquisite food, and a stimulating variety of guests*, are continually associated in the combined order. Civilisation cannot provide even one of them: to demonstrate this, I shall talk about good food, which provides the whole structure's foundation.

It is a risky subject and it will only please trusting readers. Others will exclaim at every point that it is *impossible*. They will have a slight justification for this until it is demonstrated to them; but some people want provisional accounts of the combined order – they want *the prospect before the theory*. I must do something to satisfy them in this prospectus, which has to take into account the tastes of different kinds of readers.

To appreciate the resources that the combined order has to offer in the way of good food, you must recognise that it is not densely populated like Civilisation. Let us examine this in detail.

The theory indicates 800 or 810 inhabitants to each phalanx, with the average extent of cantons being 3,456 toises in diameter. This area is greater than a square league by a ratio of 87 to 63. The combined order will thus house scarcely 600 inhabitants per square league of 2,500 toises.

In some places, like Württemberg, on the other hand, Civilisation crowds more than 4,000 inhabitants into a square league, which is seven times more than the proper number, and in average regions there are normally 1,200 inhabitants per league, when there should only be 600.

Given the bodily weakness of the civilised, 800 or 900 per league might be permissible, but only as a temporary measure, with the number being gradually reduced to 600 as new areas of the globe are opened up and the human race increases in strength.

It will thus be necessary to clear those civilised regions which are over-populated, generally those having more than 800 inhabitants per square league, including towns. The overspill will not be directed to the surrounding area, as from France to Spain, but to different places in all the uncultivated countries. They will begin to divide them into a chequer-board pattern, with lines of phalanxes traversing Africa, America and Australia in order to bring enlightenment to those countries and unite with the indigenous hordes.

Some European regions, like Württemberg, will evacuate more than 3,000 inhabitants per square league. This will be greatly to the advantage of their rulers, who will have *colonial stock* or ownership rights over a twelfth of the uncultivated land brought into production by their emigrants.

If the agglomerations of population that cover some areas had to be retained, it would be impossible to organise the combined order, in which each canton is laid out like a royal residence, with hunting, fishing, tall trees, exercise grounds and dual roads everywhere, with one shaded and bordered with flowers for summer use. Above all, each canton needs to have great areas of pasture for the many flocks and herds which will be raised in the new order.

Luckily the earth is vast in proportion to its small population; we are still only one-third of the globe's proper number, with our small total of 2 billion. We can therefore expand where we like and

have ample room to live. It is so that we can make the best of this good fortune that God has restricted our numbers so much, and herded us together like captives on a few parcels of land that we fight over, while the greater part of the globe remains uncultivated, because of the danger of losing the colonies.

But henceforth there will be nothing to prevent people from dispersing, as the whole earth will be united under a single, unchanging government, which will guarantee every prince a colonial indemnity on the countries peopled by his superfluous subjects.

Although the combined order will temporarily have only 900, and finally only 600, inhabitants per square league, this small number formed into *progressive Series* will reap a harvest as large as *three times that number of incoherent farmers* could produce from the same ground.

I do not claim that the combined order will be able to raise a hundred grains of corn from a head that only yields thirty today. There are some things, like cereals, which there are few ways of perfecting; for wheat, I foresee only four, namely: first, the choice of the best seed, and its adoption throughout the world; second, the even range of temperature which will become established in all climates; third, irrigation, which will be extended to include not only fields but also forests; fourth, portable tents which can be placed over any patch of ground to protect it from too much sun or rain. Despite all these improvements, the cereal yield will only increase by a ratio of 2 to 3; but in other areas, like fruit, woodland, livestock, etc., the combined order will triple the productive capacity of the incoherent order.

Taking all these variations into account, we should estimate the positive production of the combined order at *double* that of the present. To this should be added the *negative* production contributed by *avoidance of waste*. If, therefore, I add in the almost incalculable waste involved in the civilised mechanism (which I mentioned briefly in the preliminary discourse, and which I shall have more to say about in the third part, when I deal with the commercial mechanism) it will be clear that production that is *positively double* ours will become *negatively triple* by avoiding the huge amount of waste we create.

As harvests in the combined order will greatly exceed the means of consumption both locally and abroad, surpluses will become a periodic scourge in the way shortages are today, and even while

feeding animals on human foodstuffs, it will be necessary to dump a mass of produce which could grace the best tables today in the sea and down the drain. It is a sacrifice which will be made without regret, however, as the surplus will be necessary to sustain the combined order, since this social order will have to stabilise its population at a limit which allows for regular surpluses and the destruction of a quantity of good produce. For example, if the phalanx of Vaucluse harvests 50,000 melons or water melons, about 10,000 of these will be assigned for its own consumption, 30,000 for export and 10,000 sub-standard ones will be shared amongst the horses and cats, or used for compost.

Economists will respond by arguing that the phalanx should raise more pigs to consume this surplus, but there would be no point in this, as there would soon be a surplus of pigs as well as of melons and other fruit. It is therefore better to use the surplus fruit for compost than to feed extra animals which there will be no way of consuming.

Economists will then argue that the population should be increased in order to use up this surplus. But in the combined order, the population cannot be raised beyond a given proportion, because if those numbers are exceeded the Series will not be able to carry out their functions properly, and they will collapse into discordant mobs instead of operating in harmony and attraction. The population must therefore be limited *approximately* to the proportions indicated by the theory, resulting in this habitual surplus which even the animals will not be able to consume. In short, it is a property of the combined order always to produce a surplus which has to be returned to the land, just as the incoherent order constantly produces a deficit which gives rise to poverty.

The raw material of combined gastronomy

What will be the quality of the surplus that will have to be divided between the animals and compost?

The answer to this question may cast some unexpected light on the fate of people in the future. I would therefore ask readers to pay particular attention to the detail of what follows, as the conclusions it will reach are truly surprising, and will provide some idea of the immensity of well-being God has prepared for us.

In progressive Series all the groups will develop a high degree of dexterity because of the extent to which tasks will be subdivided. Each member will therefore only work at jobs where he can excel. The leaders of the Series, impelled by rivalry to make a serious study of their craft, will bring to their work all the knowledge of a master. Their subordinates will approach their work with an enthusiasm that will make light of all difficulties, and a fanatical determination to maintain the honour of the Series against rival cantons. In the heat of action they will do things that seem not to be humanly possible, like the French grenadiers scaling the rocks of Mahon and next day being unable to climb the rock in cold blood which they had successfully attacked under enemy fire. That is what the progressive Series will be like at work: all obstacles will fall before the force of their pride, the word *impossible* will make them angry, and the most difficult tasks, such as earth-moving, will be no more than games. If we today could see a canton organised, see thirty or so industrial groups parading outside the phalanx palace, dispersing to the fields and workshops, waving their banners with cries of triumph and impatience, we would think we were witnessing bands of fanatics bringing fire and bloodshed to the neighbouring cantons. It is athletes like these who will take the place of our reluctant and mercenary workers, and who will produce crops of nectar and ambrosia from soil which under the feeble hand of Civilisation yields nothing but thorns and darnel.

Every phalanx, as it exploits the resources of a canton made fertile by earth-works, irrigation and other means, will take particular care to stifle at birth any animal or vegetable produce which shows signs of imperfection and therefore would not maintain the honour of the canton and its Series. Thus *everything that tends towards mediocrity is destroyed at birth*, and even the surplus food given to the animals is at least as good as the produce which we admire at the table of kings and other great figures. If you could preserve some item of food, a chicken, say, from the finest table in France today, and produce it in the combined order, anyone who tasted it would point out twenty faults in the way it had been bred and fattened, and conclude that the Series of poultry-farmers responsible for rearing it and for allowing it to appear at the table instead of being thrown

away, deserved to be *eclipsed*, that is, condemned to attach a black tassel to their group's banner.

If the general enthusiasm and intelligence that characterise work in the combined order raise production to such a level of excellence that rejected animals are as good as the choicest meat served at the tables of the great, the lowest or third-quality meat will already be superior to the best we can produce. It follows that the food sent to the ordinary people's kitchens will be finer than the food we reserve for kings. This is what the theory tells us, and although you may suspect me of some exaggeration, I have in fact done my best to tone down the descriptions in order to make it seem credible.

There will be a similar degree of refinement in the preparation of food, as every phalanx's kitchen Series will bring the same enthusiasm to their jobs as all the other Series; they will attach the same importance to all their tasks as a certain French chef did, who blew his brains out as dinner was about to be served because he thought his honour was compromised by the fish arriving late. This will be the attitude of the Series which run the kitchens of every phalanx; their intelligence will be borne out by the exquisite quality of their seasoning; where they use just a single clove, it will be superior in quality to any that Asia can supply today, as the lowest-grade, third quality will be better than the most perfect that Civilisation can supply.

Thus the third-class dishes, the everyday fare of the ordinary people, will surpass any of our gastronomes' delights. As for the variety of dishes at their table, there will be at least thirty or forty of them, a third of which will be changed each day, with a dozen different kinds of drink at every meal.

One-third of this food would of course be sufficient to surpass anything the people might desire: but mediocrity and moderation have no place in the combined order, and as the progressive Series provide a plentiful variety of produce, consumption must follow suit. If the Series which grows apples and pears has provided thirty varieties, a few of which are so abundant that they lose most of their value, these must be eaten by the common people; and they cannot be served just one kind of fruit, because the fruit-growers' Series which arranges their distribution sends assortments of every kind of fruit to the kitchen each day, not just one. The common people must therefore be served a selection of third-grade fruit

which cannot be offered at the tables of the middle-class and the rich.

In the current order, where there is very little variety of produce, most of it is reserved exclusively for the rich, and not only are the common people unable to enjoy it, but even the bourgeoisie has to do without it. Their fortune is very different in the combined order, in which a single canton may raise at least 800 different sorts of produce, two-thirds of which will be sufficiently abundant for some to be assigned for consumption by ordinary people. Their diet will therefore revolve around a variety of some 600 different foods, while the rich may have three or four times that number because of food-stuffs imported from foreign countries. Despite this, though, ordinary people will still have a copious selection of all sorts of products, and I have probably underestimated them in reckoning three dozen dishes and a dozen drinks as the everyday fare at a third-class table, which will feed 400 to 500 individuals in their different parties in the dining-rooms of the minimum.

You would be a great deal more surprised if I went into the detail of the composition of these dishes, the special qualities of which are particularly interesting.

When the torrid zone has been brought into full cultivation, sugar, the poorest kinds of which will be as good as our finest, will be equal in value to wheat flour, so that ships coming from the equator will exchange a cargo of the purest sugar for an equivalent weight of European flour. But in Europe, good dairy produce and good fruit will be so common that little value will be set on them. Fine jams and purées or creams made of sugar and fruit or dairy-produce in equal proportions will cost less than bread, and for economy's sake poor children will be given quantities of *matched* fine jams, cream, sugar and stewed fruit. I say *matched* because the Series of cooks, confectioners and the rest can only work by matching or graduated progression, and consumption has to operate in the same way. Consequently the poorest children everywhere will find their tables loaded with the sugared dairy-products and candied fruits they are so fond of, and which seem to be harmful to their temperament because we cannot provide them with the acidic drinks which would counteract the vermicular influence of these substances. But as soon as the torrid zone is cultivated, lemonade and other costly drinks will be as plentiful as small beer and cider

are now. Lemons in the torrid zone, and pippin apples in the temperate zone, will be so abundant that their only cost will be transport, and that they will be exchanged at equal weight, to the great contentment of both zones. We can see from this why nature has given children of all countries a liking for jam, sweetened cream, lemonade, etc.: it is because these will be the cheap food of children in the combined order, and God has to give us passionate attraction to the kind of life reserved for us in the new order, when bread will be among the rarest and most expensive of foods, and when the only foundation of universal harmony will be on passions refined enough to require the involvement of three zones and two continents in the service of every inhabitant of the globe.

I realise how exaggerated these and the following claims may seem, but I have already said that a complete demonstration of them belongs in a full account of the mechanism of the progressive Series; until I have published this theory readers cannot expect proofs of these provisional descriptions, which I have included to satisfy the most impatient of them.

Although this digression on the raw material of meals is already too long for a vague foretaste, there are a few more lines to add. There would be many complaints if I forgot to call upon the god of the vine to put in an appearance in this gastronomic excursus.

This is the point where some specious arguments may be raised against me. My opponents will try to cast discredit on the cellars of the combined order, because their kitchens will accumulate so many trophies. Listen to what they have to say: 'We grant you', they will tell me, 'that your phalanxes, your Series and your groups can provide such an abundance of exquisite produce that even the poor will share in it; but could you match that divine food everywhere in the globe with correspondingly fine wines, that would bear comparison with those of Médoc, Ay, Chambertin, Rüdesheim, Jerez, Tokay, etc.? Their vineyards, limited in size, will not be able to provide enough for the first-class tables in three million cantons, and so the good food of the common people will have to be washed down with poor-quality wine, which will make for gastronomic cacophony, as you cannot have a good meal without good wine. To accompany a meal whose plainest dishes utterly surpass those of a modern Apicius, everywhere would have to have wines superior to those from our famous vineyards which occupy tiny areas of land, and which no amount of work will ever be able to equal, as their

characteristic flavours derive from the places where they are grown, not from the work that is put into them.'

This objection would seem to be an awkward one, and I am happy to pose it plainly, in order to demonstrate that the solution to the greatest problems is mere child's play to anyone who accepts the theory of Social Movement. Yes, in the combined order a poor man will drink wines at his table equal to the most renowned wines of France, Spain and Hungary; and consequently the rich will have a choice of wines that are proportionately superior.

Nor is this all, for I shall show that where other drinks are concerned the tables of the poor will be better provided than those of kings are today. My examples are of three types, bitter, sweet and acidic; they are coffee, milky drinks and lemonade, all of which will be in every respect more exquisite than the best that kings can obtain. Their superiority will be due to the ways they are grown, transported and prepared, none of which can be duplicated in the present order and which kings could not provide at any price. Do you think coffee is grown as well as it could be in the fields of Mocha? Are there not major errors in the way it is collected and transported, perhaps even in its usual preparation? When you understand the care and discernment that the grouped Series will take over each detail you will realise that our most renowned products are infinitely far from perfection. If we add that future events will perfect the earth's sap, and thereby refine the sap of the plants and animals which it nourishes, it will not be surprising that the drinks left to the poorest of men will often be superior to those of civilised potentates.

However, this improvement in the earth's sap will only come about slowly, as it will depend not on agricultural works, but solely on the gradual rise in temperature which will take a long time, generations, to complete, and will not be fully established until after the creation of the northern crown and the cultivation of the entire polar region. The crown will be the main source of these new saps which will refine produce, and give the least of the globe's wines a taste equal to the most esteemed wines of today.'

¹ '[In 1803 I was as yet unaware of a future event which would affect the variety of tastes, namely the return of our five living moons: Vesta, Juno, Ceres, Pallas and Mercury. By using the aromas which they will emit, singly or in combination, it will be possible to give 32 different flavours, in addition to its natural flavour, to 32 different beds of the same plant.]' (1841).

Other causes will also influence this alteration in the earth's saps, and here I must reiterate a point I have already made, namely that the combined order creates opportunities and means to put them into practice which do not exist for us. The resources of Civilisation can give no idea of the resources of the combined order; for example, if every scholar today had to be awarded millions upon millions each time he produced a good book or a new discovery, the people of Civilisation would exclaim that no regime could sustain such prodigality, that kings would have to have inexhaustible treasuries, that all the ministries would have to become patrons, the passions would have to be changed, etc. Yet we saw, at the beginning of this notice, that the problem will be resolved without any need to change the passions or the nature of ministries or kings. The solution lies in the fact that the combined order creates means that are unknown to Civilisation, and that once we are provided with these new means, obstacles regarded as insurmountable will present no difficulties at all. After all, with the aid of compass and explosives, we are able to split rocks, to brave the darkness of the seas and do all sorts of amazing things the mere idea of which would have made the whole of the ancient world shudder. The same will be true of all the problems I have described, and which arouse accusations of *impossibility* and *charlatanism* from you. All your objections are systematically resolved by the mechanism of the progressive Series, and the results of this order will provide not only the objects of your desires, but a happiness far beyond anything you can desire.

Passionate mechanism of combined gastronomy

These material pleasures that I describe are insufficient in themselves; it is not enough for the poorest among you to have a table better provisioned with food and drink than the richest of kings. The well-being that this provides, however real, will only ensure half the pleasures of the table. For although good food provides the basis, there is another no less essential condition, the judicious mix of fellow-diners, the art of varying and matching the parties, making them more interesting each day by creating delightful and unexpected encounters, assuring even the poorest people of spiritual pleasures which are never to be had

in your normal household gloom. On this point, your Civilisation is completely absurd. Your costly gatherings and your most celebrated banquets are generally so badly arranged and the guests so ill-matched that everyone would die of boredom if it were not for the food. But food alone is a boorish pleasure, and perhaps not even that; for peasants are jovial and lively enough in their taverns, enjoying the pleasures of the senses and the spirit together, whereas people have to yawn away a solid hour waiting in fashionable drawing rooms for their dinner. And oh! how dearly you have to pay for the dinner with the boredom of keeping up faltering discussions about rain and good weather, the health of friends and relations, the progress of the worthy children of virtuous fathers, the good behaviour of daughters, the kind nature of aunts, and the tender sentiments of tender dispositions. What a deluge of insipid nonsense you get at these civilised gatherings, even though no expense has been spared in their preparation and in the outlay on good food! The whole occasion is as tedious for the guests as it is for the mistress of the house, who has all the trouble of arranging and preparing it. How on earth can civilised people dare to lay claim to gastronomic excellence when they know nothing of the art of organising the stimulating and varied parties which constitute half the pleasure of the table! It seems that on this point kings are even worse off than their subjects. They are reduced to eating with their families, as isolated as hermits and as solemn as owls throughout their meals, thus demonstrating that at table, as elsewhere, the pleasures of the most powerful kings are inferior to those the poorest of his subjects will enjoy in the combined order. Added to which the sovereign must think himself lucky if, amidst the isolation and gloom of his meals, he can forget the ever-present threat of being poisoned. Oh how vain are the pleasures of Civilisation!

At this point I should explain how the various gatherings of the combined order are organised, and how successful meals are arranged for lovers, families, corporations, friends, strangers, etc.

In order to arrange this Series of meals, as well as the jobs of work which will change every two hours, even the smallest canton in the world^{*} will hold a daily exchange or negotiating

^{*} There cannot be any with fewer than 600 people.

assembly. This is where they sort out the gatherings for work and pleasure of the next few days, and the loans of cohorts between cantons in which they join together for purposes of work or enjoyment. Every day, each canton's exchange negotiates at least eight hundred gatherings for work, meals, amorous affairs, travel and other purposes. Each of these meetings requires discussion among ten, twenty or even a hundred individuals, and there are at least twenty thousand schemes to sort out in the space of an hour. To ensure the smooth running of this there are all sorts of officers and arrangements whereby any individual can be involved in thirty or so discussions at the same time, so that even the smallest canton's exchange is more lively than the London or Amsterdam stock exchanges. Most of the negotiation is done through signals by means of which each leading negotiator can enter into discussion from his desk with every individual and make plans, via his assistants, for twenty groups, twenty Series, twenty cantons at once, without uproar or confusion. Women and children take part in these negotiations as well as men to fix up all their gatherings, and the tussles this gives rise to every day provide the most stimulating game, the briskest and most complicated scheming, that there could possibly be. The exchange is therefore a major entertainment in the combined order.

After the foretaste I have given you of the pleasures of the table, you will be able to recognise that the pleasures of love will be equally intensified; every day they will present a host of anecdotes and adventures, the least of which will be superior to our proudest achievements. Like the table, love will provide opportunities for all characters. There will be no more pointless arguments about constancy and inconstancy and who is attached to whom. There will be tastes of every sort in the combined order, because there will be means of satisfying them all. Bacchants will be as necessary as vestals, and attraction will only be able to operate if all kinds of love exist in the canton. So alongside the bacchants who practise the virtue of fraternity and devote themselves to the pleasure of the whole human race, you will find vestals and maidens of complete fidelity; you will also find something much rarer, *men who are faithful to women*, who

are not to be found in Civilisation, except among the devotees of pietism who are not part of the amorous world.

The amorous policy for recruiting armies

The *announcement* of the amorous freedom which is to come is bound to arouse the anger of the bourgeoisie and the philosophers, and to calm them down it will be best to encourage them to envisage this freedom in relation to their self-interest, which is the only god they recognise. Love, which in Civilisation is a source of disorder, idleness and expense, will become a source of profit and industrial miracles in the combined order. I shall give an example of this, and I have decided to demonstrate it by looking at one of the most difficult tasks of government in Civilisation, the recruitment of armies, which in the combined order will be achieved by its amorous policy.

In each phalanx love will create two major Series, the *half-character* and the *whole character*. Each of these will be subdivided into nine branches, beginning with the *Vestalate* which I shall now describe.

In each phalanx, the chorus of Lads and Maidens, who are all virgins, every year elect a quadrille of vestals composed of two show couples and two couples of merit: the former are chosen for their beauty, the latter, for their achievements in the arts and sciences, or for their devotion to their work.

The vestals always occupy the rank of magnates. When even the poorest girl is elected a vestal she travels in a carriage studded with jewels and drawn by six white horses. Honours of every sort are bestowed on these young people; they command the columns of children; in short, the system that preserves virginity tends to bring young girls to the fore rather than isolating them. Far from making them behave foolishly like our morality-plagued maidens, who say they love nobody and only want what mummy and daddy want, they develop their own inclinations as fully as they can, and the female and male vestals both have their recognised suitors.

This youthful elite has the privilege of joining the industrial armies, which are magnificent gatherings, and it is during their campaigns that the vestals have their first love affairs. Every day, after

work, the industrial armies hold festivities, whose glittering splendour is increased by the participation of this elite of youthful beauty and talent. They offer tremendous scope for courtly behaviour: all the vestals' suitors follow them, and they make their choices in the course of the campaign. Those young people who want to attach themselves to a single lover join the ranks of the *Squires* and *Damsels*, and join the groups of constant lovers, the second of the nine amorous characters; others, who prefer inconstancy, join the other seven groups. The main result of these diversions is that immense industrial armies are formed, without any compulsion and without any ruse except the public display and public honouring of virginity, which the philosophers would rather keep hidden away from society, surrounded with chaperones and prejudices.

All that has to be done to raise an army is to publish a list of the quadrilles of virgins selected by each phalanx. Their declared suitors will then have to follow them into the armies as that is where the vestals' choices will be made. This will be done secretly, with none of the dreadful publicity that surrounds our marriage ceremonies, when the whole town is informed that on a particular day some libertine or rake will deflower an innocent girl. Only those born and brought up in Civilisation could endure the sight of those indecent customs called *weddings*, with interventions by both priest and magistrate, as well as the local drunks and jokers. And why does this happen? Because after the vile intrigues that take place and after the pimping conducted by lawyers and godparents, two individuals are going to be yoked together for life, despite the fact that after a month they may hate the sight of each other. So what motive can there be for these wedding feasts? The desire for posterity? But they do not know that the wife will not be sterile. The hope that the couple will be happy together? But who can tell whether they will not detest each other in a year's time, and if their union will not be a misery to both of them? By basing their festivities on such vague hopes, the families are behaving like some hare-brained idiot who buys a lottery ticket and then invites his neighbours to a great dinner to celebrate the prize he hopes to win. Everyone eats his food while they make fun of him, saying *he has not won it yet*. When you give feasts to celebrate a marriage, you are just behaving like that idiot, because marriage is a lottery ticket. In fact, it is worse, because not only may it fail to produce the

happiness you hope for, it can also create a great deal of unhappiness. The only situation in which there is a reason for festivity is when a man marries a very rich woman: then it is right to rejoice. But most wives spend more money than they bring with them; and if wedding celebrations were to be delayed until a year later, by which time the husband would have experienced some of the difficulties of the arrangement, like the great expense, and the cuckoldry which is bound to happen sooner or later, you would not find many husbands disposed to celebrate their unfortunate union. How many of them indeed regret it the day after, when they are already discomfited at not finding what they thought they would find!

In the combined order, celebrations of first love only happen after the union has been consummated. They do not imitate Civilisation and make the public witnesses to the bargain struck for a maidenhead. The female vestals can see all their suitors gathered together, displaying their talents in the army's work and public games; their number gradually diminishes as the vestals encourage some and discourage others. When, finally, a vestal comes to an agreement with one of them, the young couple have only to send a sealed declaration to the High-Matron (who is a minister of amorous relations with responsibility for overseeing the army's love affairs as far as they concern the vestals) or else to one of the Vice-Matrons in charge of each division. Every evening the necessary arrangements are made to receive the couples who want to form secret unions; they are identified by an official from the Matronate, but the union is not publicly announced until the following day, when the vestal changes her crown of lilies for a crown of roses and appears in the dress of a Damsel with her favourite, or if she has chosen a male vestal, her Squire.

A considerable number of these unions of male and female vestals takes place every night of the army's campaign. They are announced the next day at the matinal or morning meal. The male and female bacchants have the job each morning of bringing in and comforting the wounded, that is, the suitors who have been rejected as a result of the night's secret unions.

Let us imagine, for example, that the vestal Galatea is almost ready to make her final choice, but is still undecided between Pygmalion, Narcissus and Pollux. In the end she chooses Pygmalion, and forms a secret union with him. The same night about a hundred

other vestals have consummated similar unions with their favourites in the building reserved for this ceremony. The next day, a thousand bacchantes of both sexes assemble before dawn, and a clerk of the Matronate gives them a list of the night's unions and a list of all the wounded who have to be looked after. Among these are the names of Narcissus and Pollux, so the female bacchantes who think Pollux is fondest of them set off to his quarters, while others go in search of Narcissus. Similarly, the male bacchantes go and look for the attractive wounded females whom they have chosen.¹ Pollux will thus be woken by bacchantes carrying a myrtle branch, who will explain that he has lost Galatea's affections, bear the brunt of his shock, his cries of treachery and ingratitude, and then use all of their charms and eloquence to console him.²

Every morning, there are plenty of defeated suitors, much to the joy of the legions of bacchanalians who reap benefits from this amorous martyrdom, as the usual remedy for such misadventure in love is a few days drowning one's sorrows with the bacchantes, the adventuresses and others of the army's philanthropic corporations. When people learn the details of these different activities, and the mechanisms of the amorous Series in the armies of the combined order, they will find the love affairs of Civilisation so boring and

¹ It goes without saying that if the rejected lovers are members of the Vestalate, they will not be consoled by bacchantes. In those cases, they will be comforted by members of other brotherhoods, such as the sentimentalists, who make up the seventh group of the amorous Series. There are numerous similar exceptions which I shall not describe now, but which readers will be able to imagine for themselves.

² Some of the civilised will say that Pollux will not want any part of the bacchantes' consolation, that if he is really in love with Galatea, he will contemptuously reject these abandoned women who come and offer themselves to him. And indeed this would be characteristic of love in the civilised order: for days Pollux would reject all women except Galatea, and probably also challenge Pygmalion to a duel. In the barbarian order, Pollux would act differently: he would stab Galatea to death and then look for a chance to do the same to Pygmalion. In the savage or patriarchal order, Pollux would behave differently again. Thus I am well aware that according to our customs Pollux should spurn the bacchantes and their consolations. But if you want to follow civilised custom and blame Pollux for seeking distraction with the bacchantes, you lay yourself equally open to the mockery of barbarians for not plunging your dagger into the heart of the man who carries off the girl you love. My reason for going into such detail here is to reiterate that the passions operate differently in each social period, and that although some of the practices of the combined order may seem bizarre to us, we should not judge them before reaching an understanding of the circumstances which give rise to customs so different from our own.

pitiful that they will not be able to bear to read our novels and plays. They will also realise that admission to the armies will be a privilege in the combined order, so there will be twice as many volunteers as are necessary. Thus by relying on nothing but love it will be possible to assemble a hundred and twenty million legionnaires of both sexes to carry out works, the very idea of which would send shivers of fear into our mercenary hearts. For example, the combined order will undertake the conquest of the great Sahara desert. It will be attacked at several points by 10 or 20 million hands, if necessary, and by dint of importing earth, and gradual planting and afforestation, they will succeed in humidifying the land, stabilising the sands, and replacing desert with fertile regions. There will be ship canals in places where today we cannot even create irrigation channels, and great ships will not only sail through isthmuses like Suez and Panama but far inland, as from the Caspian Sea to the Sea of Asov and the Aral Sea; they will sail from Quebec to the five Great Lakes, and from the sea to every great lake, as long as its length is at least a quarter of the distance between it and the sea.

In every empire the various legions of men and women are divided into a number of armies, who join forces with armies from neighbouring empires. In the combined order no undertaking is attempted using only a single army: at least three will work together so as to engender a spirit of rivalry amongst them. If the sandy heathland of Gascony needs to be covered with soil, the job will be done by three armies, one French, one Spanish and one English, and in return France will send an army to Spain and one to England to help them in tasks of their own. In that way all the empires of the globe will intermingle. This principle will apply equally to provincial armies and work at the cantonal level.

Let us suppose that the phalanx of Tivoli wants to mow a meadow, and that 300 men could do the job in two hours; if it only has 60 available reapers it borrows 4 cohorts from four neighbouring cantons, using its ambassadors to the cantons to negotiate the loan in their Exchange, and on the day appointed 4 cohorts arrive and join the Tivolians in the meadow. The hay-making is followed by a meal with beautiful women from the different cantons. In return, the canton of Tivoli will send cohorts of its men and women when the others need them. This exchange of cohorts is one of the means

used in the combined order to transform even very tiresome work into occasions of festivity. It becomes pleasant:

Because the large number of co-operative workers makes it brief;

Because the gathering of cohorts brings together men and women from different phalanxes;

And because the number of the workers enables the task to be completed with elegance and precision.

The last point should be emphasised. Our workshops are so filthy and so unpleasant that they create a feeling of disgust for work and workers, particularly in France, which seems to be dirt's adoptive country. Is there anything more revolting than the laundries in Paris where high society's linen is washed? In the combined order these sewers will be replaced with a building embellished with marble basins fitted with taps for water at different temperatures, so that women will not have to ruin their hands by plunging them into icy or boiling water. Numerous arrangements will also be made to ease the work by using all sorts of mechanical devices; and after the four or five cohorts of laundresses from different cantons have finished their work, the meal they share will be made as delightful as possible.

These details may seem unimportant, but I have described them at some length in order to demonstrate that all obstacles to work have been anticipated. Bringing different cohorts together in this way is only one of the many methods by which the combined order will iron out all difficulties and provide means of accomplishing the most unpleasant tasks by *attraction and rivalry*.

Useless as it is today, love will become one of the most brilliant incentives of the social mechanism. And while it costs Civilisation a great deal of trouble and coercion to raise the destructive armies which periodically ravage the earth, the combined order will use love and attraction to form beneficent armies which will strive to outdo each other in the creation of magnificent monuments. Instead of devastating thirty provinces in a single campaign, these armies will span rivers with thirty bridges, level thirty mountains, dig thirty irrigation canals and drain thirty marshes. Yet these triumphs of industry will still be a mere fraction of the wonders performed as a result of amorous liberty and the downfall of philosophy.

In all these seemingly trivial discussions about things like good food and love, we must not lose sight of the purpose of the combined order, which is to operate *industrial attraction*. All this order's arrangements that I have described, which you may think are designed for pleasure, have to satisfy two touchstones: they must produce *industrial attraction* and *economy of incentive*. I shall give you a demonstration of this, drawn from the bands of knight-errantry who travel the globe, and which I talked about earlier in this account.

These bands, which young people find very attractive, will not allow people to join them unless they have taken part in at least three campaigns in industrial armies, as well as having the necessary knowledge of the character the band is devoted to. Here we have one more incentive for raising armies. Besides love, which brings in the vestals of both sexes, and the curiosity aroused by the great events which occur within the army, and the desire to be present at the festivals and bacchanals, and share in the glory of their great achievement – besides all these, there are other stimuli, like the wish to achieve the status of adventurer or adventuress after three campaigns, and to enjoy the hospitality of the globe with the bands of knight-errantry. After six campaigns there are further privileges to be won; and after taking part in nine, they can enter the world-wide corps of paladins, officers of the emperor and empress of unity. At the end of each campaign the young people are entitled to an ornamental emblem, such as a cross or a star, inscribed with the army's achievement, and the number of points on the stars designates the different campaigns each person has been on. These decorations are worn by women because they always form half of each industrial army.

The variety of enticements that the armies offer to young people means that they assemble spontaneously at the first call for volunteers, and admission to their ranks, as I have said, becomes a privilege won by the trials they go through. This method of raising armies thus achieves the two aims I have spoken of, *industrial attraction* and *economy of incentives*.

And as the attraction of joining these wandering bands is one of the lures drawing young people into the army, you will see that they are not just vaguely imagined pleasure parties, and that all the other arrangements which will be made for you in the combined

order will, like them, have to contribute to those two required results, *industrial attraction* and *economy of incentives*. And the measures which lead to these two ends are all as immense and romantic as the ones I have given you a provisional idea of.

Being afraid to show you the full, vast scope of these pleasures, I have restricted myself to two minor aspects, love and good food. I have talked about the tables of the poor but have said nothing about the sumptuousness of those of the rich, when good food will be enhanced by universal agriculture, by even temperatures refining the earth's saps, by putting an end to commercial fraud, and by universal freedom of communication. Then, in every phalanx, every day, at each of the five meals,* the rich will be able to savour hundreds of rare foods from all over the globe, transported and preserved by methods which are impossible in the imperfect state of the industries of land and sea in Civilisation.

Similarly I have only touched on the least of the pleasures of love by talking about the vestalate, which only allows courtship or spiritual pleasure, not material joys. Vestal activities are a restraint on the practice of love, which only begins when the vestal chooses his or her first lover.

I have said nothing about the situations which give love free rein and which provide such a powerful contrast with the vile intrigues of marriage, and the odious calculations by which the first union is so debased in our Civilisation. I have therefore given you no idea

* There are five meals in the combined order: the matinal at 5 o'clock, breakfast at 8 o'clock, dinner at 1 o'clock, tea at 6 o'clock, and supper at 9 o'clock; there are also two interludes, or snacks, at about 10 and 4 o'clock. This multiplicity of meals is necessary to satisfy the ravenous appetite that everybody will have in the new order, because of being constantly on the move. Children brought up to that way of life will develop iron constitutions, their appetite returning every two or three hours as a result of rapid digestion, due to the delicacy of the dishes they eat and the art of mixing them judiciously. This art, in which they will have been trained since infancy, contravenes all our principles of sobriety, yet it will be one of the seeds of the material perfection that will raise the human race to an average height of 7 feet and an average life expectancy of 144 years. In this perfect state healthy human beings will need to consume a twelfth of their own body-weight in food every day. Even today there are more astounding appetites than this: in France there is a person known as the man-carnivore who eats 14 pounds of raw meat at a single sitting, not to mention his drinks and other meals. He thus consumes some 20 pounds of food a day, yet weighs nothing like 240 pounds. As the Creator has everywhere had to produce inverted designs of the combined order, he has used the example of the tapeworm to represent the prodigious appetites of individuals brought up in the new order.

of what love is like in the combined order. Yet the minor details I have touched on will already have been enough to let you see how the new order will open the way to love affairs of such splendour and variety that all Civilisation's tales of love will evoke nothing but pity. I would have been able to demonstrate this very quickly if I had talked about the amorous Series and the relations between the various groups assigned to the various characters of love. But since I want to appeal to the reason rather than just arousing enthusiasm, I shall not describe them: they would create a much more vivid impression than I want.

I have satisfied the wishes of a number of people who asked me for a short account of the combined order, just a page or so of details, however incomplete. If anybody suspects me of exaggeration in these glimpses into the pleasures of the future, they should remember that I am talking here about the eighth social period, which is very far removed indeed from the fifth, in which we now are. I could have taken account of the weakness of the passions in Civilisation and depicted, as I did in the first account, only the more bourgeois pleasures of the sixth and seventh periods, which we have to pass through if we are to succeed in reaching the combined order.

By reassuring impartial readers that there is no exaggeration, I do not expect to check the muttering of the multitude, which will burst out in mockery of this second account. I admit myself that the description must seem unbelievable until readers have experienced it: even if it were presented with mathematical proofs and other supporting evidence, people would still tend to doubt it until they had personal experience of it. As Boileau said:

Truth is sometimes stranger than fiction.⁵

What could be truer than the opinion of Christopher Columbus, with whom I like to compare myself? He announced the material new world: I announce the social new world. Like him I express a truth which seems stranger than fiction to those with prejudiced eyes. Like him, I shall be accused of fantasy, because people will want to assess the results I describe by using the means currently available. They will prefer to believe that the social mechanism is

⁵ *L'Art poétique*, Chant III, 48.

limited to the feeble resources provided by Civilisation, forgetting that all these social miracles will be worked by *progressive Series* and not by *incoherent families* which have the opposite qualities.

But as irony is the chief pleasure of the civilised, let them hasten to express their malignity: as agricultural association could be given a trial within six months, the *impossibles* will not have much time to find fault, and the more eloquent their criticism, the more pitiful they will look when they have to retract it all. Then people will recall their sarcastic comments and take no notice of their unconvincing words of praise, thus reducing them to silence. This is the best punishment for curs like these who are so rabidly opposed to all new discoveries, people whom La Fontaine has so accurately called

Minds of the lowest order
Who, being good for nothing themselves, try to savage everybody
else.⁶

Nonetheless, their manic response may seem excusable, given the way society has so often been taken in by the inexact sciences. We should not be surprised if the moderns, after all the hoaxes of the sophists, tend to be increasingly distrustful, nor that there should be such a fondness for irony in Civilisation today, as everybody is tired of having new philosophical theories advertised every day which are incompatible with experience and nature. But these absurd sciences are approaching their end. Politics and ethics have already annihilated each other in the revolutions of the eighteenth century: a commercial science has survived them, namely *political economy*, but it will not be long before that ends even more shamefully than the moralists it has crushed. [I shall review their reciprocal stupidities, and provide a glimpse of the outcome which awaits the victor as it awaited the victim.]

⁶ *Fables*, v.16, 14-15.

On the abandonment of moral philosophy

Civilised nations, you are about to take a giant step forward in the social world. By passing directly into universal harmony you are escaping twenty revolutions which could bathe the world in blood for another twenty centuries before the theory of the destinies was discovered. You will be jumping two thousand years of social progress, something you will find no equal of in the history of prejudices. Reject the ideas of mediocrity and the moderate desires that impotent philosophy whispers to you. Now that you are going to enjoy the benefit of the divine laws, imagine the prospect of a happiness as immense as the wisdom of the God who has shaped its design. Look at the universe which he has arranged so magnificently, at the millions of worlds he has set rotating in harmony, and you will recognise that so great a being could never be reconciled with mediocrity and philosophy, and that it would be an insult to him to expect moderate pleasures in a social order he had created.

Moralists, what purpose can you have in recommending third-rate incomes? Those who are fortunate enough to be above the average will never want to come down to that level. No argument will persuade a man with an income of 100,000 francs to give 80,000 of it away in order to reduce himself to a modest 20,000 francs because it is the *aurea mediocritas*; conversely, those whose incomes are only average have no intention of being satisfied with them, and are quite justified in believing that they do not bring real happiness, as long as the rich refuse to come down to their level despite the ease with which that could be done. It is thus quite clear that aver-

age, modest incomes hold no attraction for the two classes who can enjoy them, and it is absurd to advise them to do so because they have experienced them, and they all agree that wealth is to be preferred. As for those who are below the average, it is quite wrong to recommend it to them as they would have great difficulty reaching it. People who are badly off are more likely to decline and fail than to improve their fortune. Politics has already been the object of the bitterest criticism for not being able to provide people with necessities, so it is obviously pointless to set about encouraging them with a taste for the average, when they cannot even be guaranteed their less exalted lot.

Theology sings the praises of poverty as the path to eternal fortune. Politics praises the riches of this world while waiting for those of the next: both suit the human heart, which does not readily adapt to mediocrity. The only reason for you moralists to have preached the virtues of mediocrity was because of your obsession with saying something new rather than echoing the dicta of religion and politics; with the former preaching poverty and the latter so enthusiastic about wealth, mediocrity and averageness are all you had left to take up.

This is the danger of taking on a role which the others have scorned. By its praise of mediocrity alone your science stands accused of ineptitude or charlatantry. If the praise is sincere, it is inept; if you really believe that mediocrity can fulfil man's desires, that it can allay his perpetual anxiety, then you do not understand man, and you should go back to school yourselves instead of giving us lessons. And if the praise is merely oratorical trickery, it is illogical to recommend mediocrity so highly when those who can enjoy it do not like it, and when you do not know how to provide it for those who have not got it. Whichever of the two you choose, it reduces your dogmas to something well below mediocrity.

Do you think the question of intention will save you? That providing man with consolations will validate your efforts? If you had any sincere intention of consoling the unfortunate you would look for other means than your dogmas, which by your own admission have proved powerless. Witness a modern moralist who says of the masters of the art, Seneca and Marcus Aurelius, 'To sustain me in misfortune you give me the staff of philosophy, and say: walk stead-

ily, go through the world begging your bread, and you will be just as happy as we are in our castles, with our wives and the respect of our neighbours. But the principal thing I lack is the very reason which you want me to use as my support. All your fine dialectics disappear when they are most needed; they are like a reed in the hands of a sick man, etc.⁷

Moral philosophy is thus discredited by its own authors, but in fact their own actions should have been enough to disabuse us, without waiting for their disavowals. Ask the virtuous Seneca why he sings the praises of poverty at the same time as accumulating a personal fortune of 80 million pounds (current value): no doubt he thought poverty and mediocrity better in prospect than in reality, like badly finished statues that only look good when viewed from a distance. We might come round to Seneca's way of seeing things if, like him, we could consign poverty and mediocrity to dusty libraries.

As both your actions and your admissions attest to the powerlessness of your knowledge to deliver the help it promises, what should we take your intentions to be if you persist in dispensing this useless aid? It is surely ironic for you to want to habituate us to deprivation when what we are asking you for is real wealth and real pleasure. You philosophers have more practised minds and senses than most people, and are thus more acutely aware of the pleasures of wealth: are you not absolutely delighted to learn that the collapse of your systems is going to bring you the sort of fortune you long for, even while you pretend to despise it?

Do not be afraid to confess your errors in full: the disgrace will be borne by all scholars collectively, not by any one group in particular. Do you think doctors and writers will be able to avoid their share of the blame? Have they not, like you, enough rationality and good sense to perceive and criticise the general absurdity? Yes, the *absurdity is general* as long as you are unable to remedy the most scandalous social disorder, *poverty*. As long as poverty continues,

⁷ The quotation is from Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, *Etudes de la Nature*, vol. III, *Œuvres Complètes de Jacques-Henri Bernardin de Saint-Pierre* (Paris, 12 vols., 1818), vol. V, pp. 5-6. (Fourier has altered the original by adding the first phrase, failing to indicate several ellipses, and by rewriting the final sentence so that it is reduced to a short clause.)

all your profound sciences are no more than certificates of your insanity and uselessness. For all your wisdom, you are no more than a legion of madmen.

You claim to be interpreters of reason. Remain silent, then, as long as the civilised order lasts, for it is incompatible with reason to recommend both truth and moderation. Where has Civilisation made progress? In cities like Athens, Paris and London, where men have never had anything to do with moderation or with truth, but have been enslaved by their passions and devoted to sensual luxury and intrigue. And where has Civilisation declined and remained mired in mediocrity? In Sparta and primitive Rome where the passions of sensual pleasure and luxury were scarcely developed at all. After that, can there be any doubt that the civilised order is incompatible with reason, when you say the latter's purpose is to moderate the passions? Can there be any doubt that this kind of reason must be banished if the civilised order is to continue and progress?

Your science enjoyed something of a vogue in antiquity, but the reason for this was that it indulged the passions; there was little to fuel the imagination and curiosity in that period, when literature and the sciences were still in their infancy. People thus became very enthusiastic about dogmas which opened the way to so much controversy and intrigue, and hypothetical philosophy was sustained by its union with the established sciences and with religion. Pythagoras, the doyen of ethics, was also a skilled geometrician and a respected prelate. He founded a monastery where he worked miracles like bringing the dead back to life and similar pranks. His followers were subjected to the harshest conditions, as Trappists are today. So if moralists won popular favour, it was because in mythological religion they formed an accessory to the priesthood, like monks in the catholic church.

While the strict moralists of ancient philosophy seduced the people by practising austerity and studying the useful sciences, other, more accommodating Series [like that of Epicurus] won the support of high society and formed cabbalistic coteries, over which the idle rich of Greece would take sides, in the same way as their equivalents in Paris today develop enthusiasms for some theatre or actor. It must therefore be clear that this ancient Greek vogue for ethics was based on nothing but the superstition of the poor and

the idleness of the rich; that is, on luck favouring the passions, not on the influence of reason.

Different periods have different customs, though, and the ethical coteries were no longer fashionable among the Romans; Cato, talking about an intrigue which had involved several Greek sophists, expressed a wish to have all philosophers driven out of Rome, proof that there was no longer the odour of sanctity about them.

And moral philosophy has only reappeared among the moderns in order to die a natural death. At first it slavishly followed in the footsteps of the ancients, re-hashing their diatribes against the passions and wealth, but in vain since what once amused Athens no longer amuses Paris and London. The speculative sciences are like fashion: they only last a certain length of time. The coterie of moralists is all but extinct; cut off from religion and the exact sciences it scarcely dares to show itself except by masquerading in fashionable terminology like the *analytical methods* it still relies on to venture a few meaningless words on the passions and launch a feeble dart in their direction, like old men in the chimney-corner muttering against the current century which no longer recognises them.

Although moral philosophy accuses our century of perversity for being indifferent to its charms, it is easy to demonstrate that its abandonment is the only rational act this century can boast; it is an odd fact that the places where the writings of its adherents have been most widely taught are those where they have been least followed. Sparta and Rome are often cited as centres of ethics, but Sparta had hardly any moralists, indeed did not even want to put up with Diogenes, the great advocate of poverty; there were even fewer moralists in Rome, when Cincinnatus had his radishes cooked. Men were no better for being poor: their display of austerity was just a product of circumstances. In Rome, as elsewhere, the growth of wealth provided more refined forms of ambition: the more developed Civilisation becomes, the less respect there is for austerity and moderation. Philosophy's attempts to reinstate these political pruderies are simply an indication of their unsuitability. The more ethical theories a people accumulates, the less likely they are to follow their precepts. The moralist coterie is the child of luxury: by inveighing against luxury it repudiates its own father. The number of volumes and systems it produces increases as luxury progresses, and if luxury comes to an end, it takes ethical theories

with it, without the ruined nation becoming any better. The present-day Greeks, for example, who have no philosophers, are no more advanced in their customs than their classical predecessors; ethical controversy stems from, and is sustained by, luxury alone. When luxury rules it can gain credence as a romantic vision, amusement for the idle, so long as it is appropriate to the circumstances. Far from being able to moderate the passions, it is reduced to flattering the dominant vices for fear of being ignored entirely: it has thus become much milder in tone in order to deal with the moderns, who no longer respect radishes.

Morality is under a serious delusion if it thinks it has any autonomous existence. It is clearly superfluous and powerless in the social mechanism, as whenever a matter arises that ought to fall within its domain, such as theft or adultery, etc., the action appropriate to the established order is easily determined by reference to politics or religion. As for instituting reforms in manners or custom, if religion and politics have failed, ethics will fail even more badly. Its only role in the body of the systematic knowledge is to be the fifth wheel on a cart, impotence in action. Wherever it combats vice alone you can be sure of its defeat. It is like a bad regiment which allows itself to be beaten in all its encounters and ought to be ignominiously dispersed. That is the treatment the rest of the sciences ought to give to ethics for all the services it has done them.

Politics and theology may have shown some respect for you moralists from time to time, and allowed you to join with them in the struggle against vice, but this is only so that they can leave you to bear the shame of defeat while all the benefit of their corruption accrues to them. For them, you are merely

The servile instrument
Cast scornfully aside when not of use
And coldly smashed when it grows dangerous.

Look at the way they treated you at decisive moments of history, like St Bartholomew's Day and the French Revolution. If you doubt their contempt for your tenets, try to find the opposite views to theirs and you will have an idea of your importance.

An incident which occurred during the seventeenth century has provided you with a final revelation of these disturbing truths. There was a split in philosophy which gave rise to the new science

of political and commercial economy. The rapid progress it made should have forewarned you of the triumph of ideas friendly to luxury and the downfall of the moralists.

They realised very late that political economy was taking over the whole domain of charlatanism. From the mid-eighteenth century all minds rallied to this new science which announced itself as a dispenser of wealth and promised nations huge riches, in which everybody flattered themselves they would share. The economists had already usurped the field when the moralists were still struggling away, singing the praises of poverty. When the French Revolution finally dispelled all their illusions about republican virtues, they tried to reach a compromise by putting forward ambiguous ideas like *being indifferent to wealth, neither loving nor hating it*; very amusing ideas, but with no hope of saving the ethical coterie. The economists were by now powerful enough not to need allies and rejected all moves towards compromise, arguing instead that we needed *greater and greater wealth, with a vast trade in a multiplicity of merchandise*. From then on the moralists sank into obscurity and their work has been ruthlessly reclassified as fiction. Their sect died with the eighteenth century; it is politically dead and no longer has any credibility among scholars and scientists, especially in France, where it no longer figures in the academies.

The ethical coterie has died a natural, and edifying, death. They ended up like those atheists who decide at the last moment that they do believe in God. When they realised that they were irretrievably defeated they admitted what they had been denying for 2,300 years. They recognised that wisdom and an income of 100,000 écus go very well together, as can be seen in the poem about the countryman who practises wisdom in a fine château, with his hounds and huntsmen, cards and suppers where corks are popped for virtue's sake. This is indisputably the sort of wisdom that can win converts, as I shall explain in the third part when I talk about freemasonry.

Moreover the writers grasped the situation too late to give a rational colouring to ethics: it would have been like sending reinforcements to somewhere that had already capitulated. And anyway by its last-minute confession that one can be wiser in a château than in rags, that science showed only how inadequate it is to lead us to wisdom and happiness. We can reach those goals under the auspices of politics and theology, the only bodies of

knowledge which provide châteaux for their favourites: there is not even the most minor position to be gained by enlisting under the flag of ethics.

Just as a defeated army regroups in scattered bands which continue to infest the countryside for months afterwards, the remnants of the ethical coterie form groups which march around without order, system or purpose. Like drowning men they clutch at anything, at metaphysics, at commerce, at any novelty. They are literary bandits who infest the high road of knowledge and try to intervene wherever they are not wanted. They rack their brains to find some safe haven for their exiled science; you listen to their pitiful mutterings about morality, rather as you smile at distant thunder after a storm. They are just *busybodies*: no reign could be more conclusively finished than theirs.

There are no depths to which they will not sink in their attempt to regain the approval of the passions they have insulted for so many centuries. On this issue, let me quote the words of another writer, lest I should be accused of vilifying a science fallen upon hard times. 'It has become much more humane. Gentler, more indulgent, it teaches compliance rather than combat. The art of satisfying and sustaining the passions, reviving them when they fail, finding new tastes when they die completely, these are the principal aims of its lessons.' (*Gazette de France*, 17 January 1808).

Returned to their senses by their disgrace, they behave like dethroned princes who acknowledge too late their inability to govern. But assuming that Civilisation could prolong its life, do you believe that the economists who have eclipsed the ethical sects are firmly ensconced on the throne of public opinion? No, these ephemeral sciences attack each other like revolutionary parties. In the third part I shall demonstrate that political economy is already heading towards ruin, and that the downfall of the moralists prepared the way for the fall of their rivals. One might apply Danton's words on the scaffold to these literary groups: when he had been fastened with one strap he said to the executioner, 'Keep the other one for Robespierre, he'll soon be following me.' The moralists might similarly say, as they are sacrificed by their executioner, public opinion, 'Keep the other strap for the economists, they'll soon be following us.'

If ever Civilisation ought to blush at its scientific aberrations and its capacity to be taken in by charlatanism it should do so today, as it tramples under foot the tenets it has revered for thousands of years and as the philosophical sciences grovel before passionate attraction, which they previously wanted to *repress, correct and moderate*. One of the two sciences, political economy, arouses a love of wealth, while the other, ethics, allows you not to hate it, summoning its dying voice to make honourable amends to the passions. The human mind thus has the capacity to feed for thousands of years on sophisms which in the end make it blush with embarrassment; how, then, do you civilised nations know that your modern visions, your *economic* dreams, are not even more ridiculous, and will not bring down more contempt upon the *nineteenth* century than the ethical visions which you are ashamed of today? Do you think you are coming closer to truth and nature by deifying commerce, which is the constant exercise of lying and trickery? Do you not think God may have imagined some honest and equitable method of managing the exchange which lies at the heart of the social mechanism? It is this that I shall be talking about in the third section of this prospectus.

Meanwhile let me remind you that it is not enough merely to acknowledge the authority of nature, whose sovereign influence you admit. It is not enough to repudiate moral philosophy and its claims to change the passions: in order to reingratiate yourself with nature you must study her decrees in *passionate attraction*, which is her interpreter. You make a great show of your theories of metaphysics: what good are they if you scorn to study attraction, which is what governs your souls and your passions? Your metaphysicians lose themselves in the minutiae of ideology. But what on earth does all this scientific twaddle matter? I who know nothing about the mechanism of ideas, I who have never read Locke or Condillac, have I not got enough ideas to discover the entire system of universal movement, which it has taken you 2,500 years of scientific effort to discover one quarter of?

I am not claiming that my perspectives are vast because they extend to points yours have never reached: I have done what thousands of others were able to do before me, but I have had only one end in view and I have worked with no established method and no

beaten track to show the way. Alone, I have confounded twenty centuries of political imbecility, and it is to me alone that present and future generations will owe the initiation of their immense happiness. Before me, humanity wasted several thousand years in a foolish struggle against nature; I am the first to have bent the knee before her, by studying attraction, the organ of her decrees. And she has deigned to smile upon the only mortal to have idolised her, and revealed all her treasures to me. As the possessor of the book of destinies I have swept away political and moral darkness, and on the ruins of the speculative sciences I raise the theory of Universal Harmony.

Exegi monumentum aere perennius^a

End of the second part

^a 'I have finished a monument more lasting than bronze' (Horace, *Odes*, 3, xxx, 1).

Third Part

Confirmation derived from the inadequacy of the inexact sciences to deal with all the problems that the civilised mechanism presents

Preamble on systematic thoughtlessness

Aristotle, one of the most highly regarded of our sages, considered his own understanding to be woefully slight. His motto was 'What do I know?', which was probably the best thing he said. The moderns are not much inclined to modesty of that sort; yet are they wiser than Aristotle when it comes to social policy? No. The situation has not changed since classical times: there is still nothing to be found but poverty, fraud and revolutions. And judging by the storms that our modern philosophers have inflicted on the present generation, there can hardly ever have been a century in which Aristotle's motto was more needed.

They have all gone laughably wrong, because in every science they have overlooked the fundamental question, the one that is the pivot of the whole of that science. For example:

If they are concerned with *industrial economy* they neglect to deal with *association* which is the basis of every economy.
If they are concerned with politics they neglect to say anything about *population*, the right size of which is the basis of a people's well-being.

If they are concerned with *government and administration* they neglect to look at ways of organising *the administrative unity of the globe*, without which there can be neither a settled order nor a guarantee of the future of empires.

If they are concerned with [*practical*] *industry* they neglect to look for ways of suppressing [*fraud*], *monopoly and speculation*, which amount to robbery of proprietors and are a direct obstacle to circulation.

If they are concerned with *ethics* they neglect to acknowledge and demand the *rights of the weaker sex*, the oppression of which destroys the very foundation of justice.

If they are concerned with the *rights of man* they neglect to include the *right to work* which, admittedly, is not admissible in Civilisation, but without which all the other rights are useless.

If they are concerned with *metaphysics*, they neglect to study the system of *God's relations with man* and to seek the means of revelation God may use in respect of us.

The philosophers therefore possess the bizarre quality of overlooking the fundamental problems of every science. This is *systematic thoughtlessness* as it regularly affects the most important questions. I could explain the cause of this incompetence, but if they are as skilled in analytical methods as they claim to be they should try to work it out for themselves.

Argument

Until the laws of social movement have been published, I can only clothe this advertisement in negative proofs, such as the incapacities of our scholars to deal with the problems of the civilised mechanism. The Third part will therefore be purely critical.

I shall provide three demonstrations of the incompetence of the moderns, citing their most recent oversights, ones which the present generation will regard as very serious.

These three demonstrations will be taken from:

1. Freemasonry.
2. Insular Monopoly.
3. Commercial Licence.

The first issue, *freemasonry*, will be presented in terms of the means of salvation it offered to the sophists. As we shall see, this society offered them a path by which they could make good their defeat in 1793 and regain fortune and respect. They were unable to take advantage of it, however; and if they were so blind to the means of influence available to their own ambitions, it is scarcely likely that they will be more clear-sighted when it comes to serving the human race.

Far from it, in fact, as they deprived humanity of opportunities that could have opened the way to social amelioration, notably *the island monopoly* and *the commercial spirit*.

In proving this assertion I shall have occasion to contradict all the systems of modern politics, especially the prejudices about commercial freedom, which can only be harmful since it is propagated by the philosophers. It is here that we shall see how blind they are, and realise that by trusting thinkers so hostile to the most obvious facts, the human race was hastening towards new calamities.

First demonstration: Freemasonry and its still unknown properties

God is the enemy of uniformity: he intends movement to be in perpetual change, whether in ascendance or descent. To this end God periodically^a brings to fruition in our societies seeds of beneficial or harmful innovations; it is up to reason to decide how to use these seeds and to stifle the bad ones, such as political clubs, or develop the good, like freemasonry.

What positive elements can we take from freemasonry? This is an entirely novel question for a century that was incapable of perceiving the opportunities this institution offered. Yet in rejecting it we are scorning a diamond, not recognising its worth, just as the savages of Guanahani¹ trod lumps of gold underfoot before European cupidity taught them its value.

Often, when we think we are merely enjoying ourselves, we are involved in political processes of the highest importance: this was the case with the *clubs* or *casinos* I have already mentioned, which are an embryonic form of *progressive household*. This small innovation could have overturned the civilised order if it had grown, and if the *clubs* could have been brought to the point where they became *resident households for bachelors of different ages and with differing amounts of wealth*. The members of such households would

^a Calculus of the passionate diffraction and the recurrent Series of the social movement.

¹ Guanahani is usually taken to be San Salvador Island in the Bahamas, where Columbus made his first landfall in 1492.

soon have realised that the passions tend to subdivide all societies into a number of unequal, rival groups, and after various attempts they would gradually have succeeded in forming a nine-group tribe, in which the rivalries would be balanced and harmonised. When unmarried women saw the attractiveness of such a household, they would quickly have imitated it, and the civilised order would soon have disappeared without any political upheavals, and to the great astonishment of everybody.

It could have been possible, with the help of freemasonry, to bring about a slower and less spectacular revolution, but one that would still have been very beneficial; the fact that modern scientists did not notice this simply shows how their vaunted reason always loses itself in the clouds before grinding to a halt in the compromises of common sense. In their attempts to imitate the eagle's disdain of gnats they lost the ability to grasp the processes of nature, which are always extremely simple.

From the middle of the eighteenth century onwards, they aspired to bring about a revolution of any kind in order to improve their own fortunes. They succeeded in that; but as there were a number of paths to choose between, it may be useful to show what other steps they could have taken which would have benefited both themselves and the human race. I shall explain.

Before 1789 there was great enthusiasm for spiritual innovation, and circumstances were more propitious for the development of a religious sect than they had been for Mahomet or Luther. The spirit of the century called for a sect which promoted sensual pleasure, but the philosophers never dreamed of founding one, not even in 1795 when everybody was absolutely free to found new religions, however dull.

After the defeat they experienced in 1793 they had no choice but to abandon a course that was no longer practicable, repudiate their own teachings and side unreservedly with nature and the voluptuous passions which, as they cannot be fought, must in the end be tolerated.

But it was no easy step for these thinkers to enthuse about the passions they had so strongly decried, so they fudged and side-stepped the issue by proposing to ignore wealth, neither loving it nor hating it. Great evils, however, require sweeping remedies. The philosophers' only hope lay in taking a desperate decision. Crushed

by Civilisation, they should have attacked it at its weak point, amorous servitude; and to destroy it, they needed to create a religion of love, with themselves as its priests and pontiffs. Masonic societies offered the means, if only they could have taken them over and controlled them.

In this move to a sacerdotal position the philosophers would only have been returning to their origins, for in antiquity they were acolytes of mythological religion. I have said that the ancient moralists were nothing but pagan monks: the Cynics and Epicureans were an earlier version of the Capuchins and Bernardines, as the passions develop in the same way in every society, merely taking different forms.

What the philosophers lacked to launch them on a religious course was a defector from the dominant religion, a leader like Mirabeau who could destroy his own organisation. The moralists could not attempt such a task on their own as all they had was a facility with words, without either boldness or inventiveness. They needed a leader who could guide them and give them the plan of attack they were unable to imagine for themselves. So in the event they just attacked the catholic religion without having any other form of worship to put in its place.

Yet they had long had before their eyes the instrument that could have ensured their victory, namely the sect of *Freemasons*. This body, founded ostensibly for charitable purposes, had already overcome the most difficult obstacles to forming a pleasure-loving, religious sect.

1. It had succeeded in organising a network of societies in all civilised regions, with a membership drawn only from the well-off classes, under the protection of the great men who led it.
2. People were used to its mysterious meetings being held in secret, away from the uninitiated mass, and were not jealous of it.
3. It gave a religious gloss to sensual pleasure. What after all do masonic meetings come down to? They are just picnics with a few moral affectations to take the place of card games and pass the time more economically. These customary feasts politely discouraged the avaricious, who are more harm than use in religious matters.

Here, then, was a grouping whose already existing organisation lent itself marvellously to the foundation of a new religion. All it wanted

was a politically skilled leader who could introduce women and sensual pleasure, and it would immediately have become the dominant religion for the wealthy in all the empires of Civilisation, while christianity, whose austerity makes it better suited to the people, would be imperceptibly limited to them, like the cult of Fo² in China, which is restricted to the lower classes.

I shall not go into any detail about the regulations of the new sect, or the means by which it would rapidly have drawn in all the most eminent members of society, without detaching them from the catholic religion.

Having been in such a favourable position for so long, the freemasons must have been blind not to have been able to take advantage of it. After that, if they do indeed, as they claim, have a *secret*, it certainly is not the secret of going forward. The political insignificance in which they have remained, when they had so many opportunities of advancement, gives such a poor opinion of their so-called secret that, even if they offered to share it, most people would refuse to listen.

Will they perhaps say that they never wanted to rise higher than political mediocrity? Or do they think that the leaders of a membership organisation can guarantee them against the spirit of usurpation which has always been the essence of such bodies from the janissaries to the Jesuits? If these are the sorts of explanation they offer for their circumspection, they are likely to be believed as little as the fox who decided the grapes were *too sour* because they were out of his reach.

Meanwhile we can share one fact with the freemasons to console them for their political ineptitude, which is that the shame of having had absolutely no insight into matters of social movement puts their society on the same level as the cleverest groups of thinkers in Civilisation.

The religion of pleasure would have fitted very well with modern philosophy: its desiccated economic systems, with their crude propaganda for the love of wealth, needed an association with a religious sect in order to give their arid precepts some soul. Political economy needed an attractive mask to hide its ugly features: it is a science that appeals only to the pocket, and it needed an ally that appealed to the heart, a sect which by converting the enjoyment of luxury and sensual pleasure to religious processes would have

² I.e. Buddhism.

shown that a love of wealth and pleasure is quite compatible with honesty, charity and the noble passions. Ah! surely it is better to cover cupidity with flowers than to utter pointless denunciations of it and sling mud at it, given that it is going to govern civilised man for ever, with reason powerless to weaken its hold for an instant.

Note, though, that when I speak of a religion of sensual pleasure, I take it to be applicable in principle only to the *polite and wealthy* classes, then to a few adepts drawn from the people to serve the sect, which could not encompass the initiation of the lower bourgeoisie before it was solidly established among the upper classes. This religion would have taken an opposite approach to that of the austere cults, which have to take root among the people before they extend to the higher classes, which today are *slaves of the people in matters of religion*, not the least among the absurdities of modern Civilisation.

By presenting the new religion as a relaxation for the upper echelons of society, the freemasons could have enrolled the whole of the opulent classes at the outset. The great are enthusiasts for anything tending to the free enjoyment of sensual pleasure: how could they not have enjoyed the refined exercise of pleasure in sophisticated religious sects composed entirely of adepts of their own sort, both men and women?

When the middle classes, the petty bourgeoisie, saw the new sect so well received by their superiors, they would have accepted it without a second thought, as they accept freemasonry today, by an effect of the *spirit of sects and proselytism*, which is a natural part of everybody's make-up. They would thus have been assured of attracting them by making use of the *lure of sensual pleasures, joined with the spirit of sects and proselytism*: such would have been the plan of the new religion.

There would be no point in raising objections to this account, such as that I have not explained the means by which this would all be done. There were infallible ways of capturing all the most distinguished members of society, particularly the rich women who are the mainstay of any religion. Among other sources of support, this religion would have had the whole class of old people who, by practising the new religion, would have found favour with the young who today scornfully reject them when it comes to matters of sensual pleasure. Civilisation, which has rightly been called *a war*

of the rich against the poor, is also a war of the old against the young, and I shall show that the both groups lose by this disharmony, which would have disappeared among the initiates of the religion of pleasure.

But instead of adopting this plan, what approach did the philosophers adopt in their attack on the Catholic religion, when they so ineptly launched themselves at it head-on without understanding how it would resist or having any means of countering its resistance?

This is where they revealed their real mediocrity, for the human mind has never created anything more mediocre than the two religions philosophy gave birth to at the end of the eighteenth century, the *Cult of Reason* and *Theophilanthropy*. These were truly pitiable religions, dead before they were even born.

Telum imbelle sine ictu.

No religion has ever begun in more favourable circumstances than the cult of reason. There were no obstacles in its way; France was terrified, and would have blindly accepted whatever religions or constitutions were presented to it. This was an unheard-of advantage for a new religion, to be able to establish itself at the first attempt in a great empire, and to be able to force friends and enemies alike to take part in its rites. Such a religion had only to adapt itself to the spirit either of the people or of the upper classes and it was bound to succeed simply by the *test of time*, an opportunity which no civil or religious administrator had enjoyed since Lycurgus. The philosophers' 'reason' must indeed have been incompatible with the human heart not to have done well in such a favourable situation. If you gave any other innovators the same advantage, the *test of time*, they would invent a religion that people would die for after a year's experience of it. But it would be a passionate religion, not one based on moderation.

Theophilanthropy appeared under the most favourable auspices, but it was still mediocrity and moderation in a new guise, and was quite incapable of harmonising with the human heart. It could be said of these two religions that one was a body without a soul and the other a soul without a body.

The first was a lot of talk without any dogma, while the second was spiritual insipidity without pomp; of the two, the first was perhaps more political in conception, but it bemused the people by its

ludicrous mixture of sacred and profane. It had its gods, like Marat and Châlier, and its devils, like Pitt and Coburg, and it appealed to the senses through civic parades and harmonious hymns interspersed with political diatribes. It was a religion for the eyes and ears, appropriate to people who wanted to be guided by their senses and revere some material object, like the goddess of Reason.

The theophilanthropists proclaimed an invisible God who could not be visually represented; the more reasonable their dogmas, the more absurd their religious policy became. The people need to be dazzled, not enlightened. Instead of your oracles of reason they want visions of Apocalypse, miracles and mysteries, to provide nourishment and support for their feeble intelligence. In short, they want a religion that inspires them with enthusiasm to get rid of tiresome reason, which reduces them to despair by revealing the full extent of their social and domestic misery.

Both religions committed an entirely new blunder in having no priests: the people want to see men entrusted with the proxy powers of God. But the theophilanthropists frequently chose a lawyer or a merchant to proclaim the word of God, and nobody likes to see men like that preaching virtue. It was in vain for them to rely on the title of *paterfamilias*: the greatest rogues and fools on earth could lay claim to that. Besides, can ministers of religion be in church and in their shop at the same time? Do they think a religion can survive if it has no full-time priests?

The philosophers demonstrated their mediocrity by creating religions of moderation, whereas an ignorant Arab, *Mahomet*, created an enormously successful religion by being immoderate in everything and employing nothing but excess, exaggeration and monstrosity. What a slap in the face for the friends of moderation! If they wanted to attack the catholic religion, they should have opposed it by one which provided contrary excesses: it sanctifies hardship, so they should have sanctified sensual pleasure. This was a new course, unforeseen by Mahomet, whose religion is not in the least pleasure-loving; it promises some pleasures to men alone, without providing them for women; it fails to erect them into religious practices; and it stunts their development by allowing harems, which are the tomb of love, and which are the sole province of the rich. In Civilisation, by contrast, any presentable young man

can form a harem from among the women of his town, without incurring the additional expense of supporting them.

So I repeat there was a great coup to be made in religion, but nothing great will come of moderation.^a Moreover, the philosophers should not be surprised that I do not go into the details of the religious course that lay open to them, and which they failed to see, because my intention is not to point out the errors in their science, which will end when Civilisation does, but to make them see that their philosophy was neither able to make headway by itself, nor to save itself by creating a new religion. They enjoyed some influence in antiquity as adjuncts of the priesthood, but they saw their credibility decline as the coming of catholicism led to the isolation of the priesthood, who were too austere to associate with a literary sect. They ought therefore to have returned to the only path to eminence they had known, and manoeuvred themselves once more into an association with the priesthood, or else replaced it with a new religion of their own. They attempted this without understanding how to do it, without recognising that there had to be a religion of sensual pleasure, the foundations for which were already provided by freemasonry. Such a religion would have opened the way to the sixth and seventh periods, as it would have led to amorous freedom which would soon have extended from masonic organisations to the whole of Civilisation.

Scholars are now beginning to say that love is not a crime: a book on the subject has, apparently, appeared; but this is merely to tell us what every fifteen-year-old schoolboy knows. The need was to find means of leading society into the free exercise of love,

^a There are only two or three moderate religions in the world, the Quakers, the Anabaptists, etc. What role have they played? Are they not also still-born, political abortions? What does their moderation lead to, anyway? They say that the Quakers, for all their restraint in dress, are far from restrained when it comes to gourmandising and cupidity, particularly in Philadelphia. One might therefore say, à propos of their dreary clothes, 'Chase the passions out of the door and they will come back in through the window.' And might there not be a degree of self-interest in their plain costume masquerade? You can be certain that there is always some devilry hiding behind a facade of moderation; by wearing grey dress with no buttons the Quakers are exempt from taxes, military service, conscription, etc. In return for that, how many of the inhabitants of France would become Quakers? Fathers in order not to pay, sons in order not to leave home: what is the merit of moderation if it procures advantages on that scale?

to foresee the social order which would develop from this, and to reveal the future benefits of this innovation, which could easily have been restricted at first to organisations separate from the mass of the people, like freemasonry. It is thus one of the seeds that providence has sown amongst us in order to give us ways of salvation and steps towards the combined order; and the fact that this federal organisation was able to continue so long without its properties and its destination being recognised by its leaders or by the philosophers shows that it deserves to be ranked with the many other monuments which in the future will bear witness to the shameful nature of civilised politics.

Second demonstration: The insular monopoly and its still unknown properties

I shall now explain the relation of the insular monopoly to God's designs. It may be predicted that the views of the Creator on this point will not be in agreement with the opinions of civilised men who, in matters of politics, have always vegetated, scarcely raising themselves from insignificance to mediocrity. They might as well have stayed at the bottom of the ladder as drag themselves one rung above it.

In centuries more religious than our own it was rightly thought that God sometimes punished nations; and if ever this opinion was plausible it is today, when the whole of humanity is persecuted and degraded by a single scourge, the island monopoly that ravages every aspect of the social world.

It destroys industry at its base by closing the lines of communication.

It attacks humanity *en masse* by financing and sustaining wars that force peoples to tear each other apart.

It degrades sovereigns by making them slaves to a subsidy that neutralises their political systems.

It outrages honour by subordinating the whole social mechanism to cheap mercantile calculations.

Such are the depths to which our *economic* sciences have brought us: the insular monopoly has re-opened Pandora's box, and the multitude of calamities which have come from it should have been recognised as a punishment from the supreme being, except that our metaphysical subtleties have habituated the moderns to doubting providence and degrading God by lacklustre arguments about his

existence, and by a half-hearted belief that is just as impertinent as atheism.

As long as peoples lived in a brutish or half-civilised state neighbouring on barbarism, and while they were too ignorant to devote themselves to seeking out God's intentions, their social incapacities and rages aroused God's pity rather than his indignation, and no scourge was sent to strike them all and subject them to relentless torture in the way monopoly does today.

But the moment scientific progress, particularly nautical science, allowed man to see that he was destined for higher things, and from the moment reason became capable of studying God's wishes in the calculus of passionate attraction, it became necessary for God to visit humiliation on us whenever foolish pride blinded us to our social incompetence and the absurdity of Civilisation. It was in order to confound this foul society that God condemned it to give birth, as it progressed, to the instrument of its own punishment and dishonour, *insular monopoly*.

But God's actions are restricted to the attainment of a single purpose; and the scourge that he has unleashed on the moderns fulfils the dual function of humiliating their scientific charlatans and offering the social world a means of regeneration which I am going to describe. The acts of piracy and brigandage on the part of the island which is desolating the globe are both a punishment from God and a blessing, an arrangement in which the wisest providence shines out. As you will see, this monopoly opens up several different ways to social unity, none of which have been noticed because the mercantile systems of the philosophers have narrowed everybody's minds on the subject, and they have aggravated humanity's misfortunes by abusing the means that God has given us to put an end to them.

The modern policy of monopoly has been managed as badly as it has been combated. England, which has undertaken it, has not grasped the theory of it, and has been unable to take any of the opportunities it has had to enslave the globe. It has only been able to demonstrate the plan, without developing the means to put it into operation. The same ignorance has ruled among her rivals, the French.

The insular monopoly, despite the vileness of the methods it employs, is still more sensible than the most equitable of the sys-

tems of Civilisation, because it tends towards the only praiseworthy purpose in politics, namely the *administrative unity of the globe*.

In this sense, monopoly is a tiresome remedy administered to the globe by God, and one which could rapidly lead to a happy outcome, a transition to the sixth period. But the incompetence of the English aggressors, and of the economists who have directed the resistance to them from the continent, has taken monopoly in the slowest and most devastating direction. This blindness on the part of both nations should come as no surprise, since England and France, the centres respectively of attack and resistance, are also the two principal seats of philosophy in the world. They were thus bound to outdo each other in ineptness, to take the most tortuous routes and fan the quarrel to greater and greater heights, without ever achieving an outcome.

The study of monopoly presents features worthy of attention, both in its origins and in the various forms of development it can take politically. Let us look at its origins.

God carefully prepared the way for monopoly by situating large islands in the most frequented seas and at the points where it is easiest to obstruct communications between countries. It can quickly be seen that England, Madagascar, Japan, the two Sunda Islands, New Guinea, Borneo, the West Indies, and all the great archipelagos lie at the most important points of passage. God has placed none along the vast 3,000-league coast that borders the Pacific Ocean. No great rivers issue there and its seas cannot become routes of general communication, so any large island placed in those waters would have had no opportunity of developing a monopoly. God therefore did not create any large islands off that coast, nor even medium-sized ones like Ceylon or Newfoundland, Heinan or Formosa, which are destined to become federal annexes of monopoly.

When these great island landmasses, which can support 15 or 20 million inhabitants, become self-regulating and united under a single prince, they have no other recourse but to commercial invasion [or crude Monopoly] to attain the domination which every empire seeks, to a greater or lesser degree. They are thus seeds of monopoly which God has sown around the continents to obstruct communications wherever industry and nautical science develop. Sooner or later the West Indies will play this role for which England

has given the signal. The West Indies and the Bahamas, with their ability to support 15 million inhabitants and their controlling position at the mouths of great rivers, will, when they unite, form a second mercantile canker before the advent of the third, which will be formed by Japan. The invasion of China by the Russians will soon force the Japanese, for their own survival, to develop nautical science, in which they will be completely successful, and having thus formed a rampart against the Russians they will use it as a means of aggression against the industry of the world.

Since it is clear that God designed the rule of monopoly by scattering the great archipelagos at favourable points, we need to examine what relation such a persecution can have to God's plan.

The tyranny of a handful of merchants over all sovereigns and empires cannot, of course, be God's ultimate design: that requires no further demonstration. What then were his motives in preparing this monstrous influence of a few islands over the continental powers? To provide a twofold means of confounding civilised politics.

- 1st. By bringing it into ridicule, if the monopoly is badly managed, either in aggression or in resistance.
- 2nd. To destroy it by a transition to the sixth period, if the monopoly is well managed, either in aggression or in resistance.

Unfortunately for the globe it is the former that has prevailed, and it is all too obvious that monopoly has upset modern politics. Leaving aside the efforts of France, which may weaken under subsequent rulers, we see the continental sovereigns giving way one after another and subjecting themselves to a common enemy which is invisible and inaccessible to everybody, which takes advantage of the rivalries of each empire and the passions of each prince in order to set them against each other and weaken them. It mocks their understanding and their blindness alike, for the increase in subsidy always seduces some of the weakest princes into taking up arms against their neighbours; peoples are then victims equally of their sovereigns' wisdom and their corruption, and their sovereigns are forced into war, whether in defence of their honour or because of their venality.

Insular monopoly [in its crude form] thus has the monstrous property of neutralising vice and virtue, of achieving its ends by using both the wisdom and the lunacy of its rivals. God could not have chosen a more ingenious punishment for humiliating kings

and peoples, civilised and barbarous, than by enslaving them to a mercantile league in a far more shameful servitude than mere conquest. Insular monopoly subjugates peoples without allowing them any defence; even the strongest coalitions do not enable them to attack it directly, and if victories remove a few allies, its gold soon provides it with new ones, so that it sets about spreading its influence and stirring up the continent just as it has stopped being overwhelmed by force of arms.

For a full understanding of the influence of insular monopoly on Civilisation we need to look at periods when the continent's opposition to it was led by mediocre princes, as in 1789. At the present moment, England is being thwarted and obstructed on the continent, but its repression is only temporary; France will not always have a ruler of *such outstanding greatness*. Political calculations cannot be based on the chance of heroic deeds: one can only speculate about ordinary ones, remembering that for every heroic prince there are seven mediocre ones. England, therefore, could (although this will soon be of no significance, as all political struggles will end with Civilisation) – but England could regain its former position as a result of some incident that weakened France, and plunge the continent once again into the intrigues of the monopolists. They have continuity in their favour, and the steadfastness of their design, whereas the continent, even in its attempts at resistance, may choose the wrong means and exhaust its strength in vain efforts because of the methods of resistance it adopts.

There is one means of resistance which is still not recognised, which I shall call *passive resistance*. This can bring about the death of the spider by depriving it of flies, by excluding from the continents all commodities deriving directly or indirectly from the monopolists. This measure has been considered in theory, but nobody has known how to put it into practice. When I say that it consists in establishing the *commercial order of the 6th period*, this means that I can only explain it in a special treatise devoted to the 6th period.

This new order is so easy to organise that a small state like Ragusa can implant it and it will inevitably spread across the whole of the globe, foiling all the monopolists, *great and small*. (For they are of all sizes: does Denmark not have the monopoly of the little island of St Thomas? What it does in one corner of the earth, it would do over the whole globe, if it could.)

Until now, the continentals have only understood *active resistance*, the maritime struggle, to support which they have recently formed a federal league. This is a vast plan, and I have no doubt that the great man who has adopted it could bring it to a successful conclusion. But it has one drawback within the system of federal resistance, in that it requires a titanic hero to undertake it and see it through. The operation may be jeopardised under less accomplished successors, while monopoly continues towards its goal, however inadequate the methods of its leaders. The perseverance shown by the English cabinet in its plans may seem astonishing, but the reason why they continue unchanged from one minister to the next is that they flatter the passions of the greedy men who make up the great majority, being based on pillage masquerading as the public good, and ensure that every minister receives private wealth, popular favour and fame, without needing to have any talent. The so-called talent of English politicians lies merely in their possession of the magic wand of *subsidy*, which has the power to seduce rulers, even against their will. Thus in the the last campaign but one we saw Austria trembling at the sight of the abyss towards which it was being pushed: it predicted its misfortunes and went knowingly towards ruin, in order to succumb to the irresistible charm of subsidy, like a bird unable to escape from a snake, which hesitates, wails and flutters from one branch to another, and finally into the mouth of the reptile which has cast its spell over it.

The English monopolists have directed their aggression as badly as the resistance to them has been organised. They had to choose between two courses of action:

Active aggression or ravaging the continent: England's choice of this measure has made its catastrophic effects too familiar everywhere for it to need describing.

Passive aggression or lulling the continent: this is the most brilliant manoeuvre that civilised politics is capable of. It consists of using the continent to effect its own conquest, using barbarism and Civilisation to seduce, pacify and subject each other. England could have done this at half the expense it cost them to ravage the nations and make them weaken each other.

In the passive attack, the islanders have to envisage monopoly as an auxiliary agent instead of as their political aim, and use subsidies

and other means of corruption for the single purpose of extracting continental militias and forming them into two armies. One of these would have gone into operation against the Barbarians in Persia, India, China, Siam, etc., and the other would have been deployed on the continent to maintain peace, raise militias for the conquest of the barbarians, and lull the inhabitants of Civilisation by giving them a share of the riches levied from the barbarians.

I shall not pause here to explain how such a plan could have been executed: it was practicable throughout the eighteenth century, even when France had a strong navy, because of the ease with which a venal and lethargic cabinet, like the Versailles cabinet, could be paralysed. By giving the German powers an interest in the English plan, France could have been left to collapse on its own, leaving its eighty ships to rot in port, while the English vessels exploited Asia. The warriors of Europe would all have sought out the service of a nation that provided them with the means of enriching themselves in Asia, and when the people of the continent saw soldiers returning from their distant expeditions laden with riches, they would have admired a system which aimed at pacifying Europe in order to enrich it with the spoils of the globe. After that, England, *fortified with the respect and the armies of the continent*, would have gone on almost unhindered to universal conquest.

The prospect of its progress and the recognition of its designs would not have aroused the opposition of any enemies. Cabinets, like ordinary people, are seldom affected by anything but direct and local danger, the fear of neighbouring states against whom nationalistic hatreds are directed. This is why England alienates very few minds on the continent, even when it publicly proclaims its intention of weakening countries by setting them against each other. It would thus have been very easy for it to command the support of public opinion by adopting and revealing its plan of lulling the continent, and only mounting operations against those who would have disturbed the peace needed for raising armies! England would have won over the ministers of every court, because they would have been able to link corruption with honour and disguise their venality beneath a mask of peace and philanthropy. They would have pretended to regard the provision of armies as a guarantee of civilised peace, even of the peace of barbarism, since the barbarians, after all, would be better off with a steady government than under the yoke of their pashas and nabobs. And by co-operating with such

a plan, civilised men would have achieved domestic peace and with it the little well-being that Civilisation can attain to; a well-being which would have increased when England reached the point where it could remove its mask, reveal its supremacy and give the whole globe a regulated form of organisation which would have led towards the 6th period.

By following that course, the English monopolists would have played the part of tutelary angels, mediators between Civilisation and barbarism; they would have put into operation the finest plan that civilised politics allows; and out of a system of pillage would have arisen results more dazzling than the conquerors' spoils and the knowledge of the philosophers, for no bellicose or scientific efforts can ever extend to even a quarter of the globe, either by conquest or by spreading enlightenment. No thinkers or heroes have ever conceived (until the French federal system) any measure which could be applied to the entire globe; whereas monopoly, which has been so harshly criticised because so poorly understood, could, in skilful hands, lead to the conquest, the unity and the happiness of the world.

This was the path open to England if it could only have identified with the continent instead of remaining isolated and treating it as an enemy, if it could have used the continent's forces to enlarge its own instead of absorbing them in mercenary wars. This nation must have very little political genius for all its ministers in turn to be so fixed on the appalling system of continental destruction, without looking for less odious ways of proceeding. But then, most English ministers have been disciples of philosophy, which stifles all great, noble and just ideas, which is why those so-called Statesmen have only been able to harass mankind and lay waste the earth instead of subjecting and organising it. They have stopped at small-scale brigandage instead of going on to develop a plan for a general offensive. All their finesse amounts to a few minor aspects of trade and pillage; they govern as arithmeticians, not as politicians, and their secrets – like the freemasons' – consist in not having any.

Yet England sustains its position by the consequences of the multi-faceted good fortune that God has assigned to insular monopoly, whatever course it takes. Given that England has been able to grow by random trading, always rejecting the better system, and that, despite its incompetence, it has always been able to counteract

the most miraculous triumphs of its rivals, imagine what would happen if Civilisation managed to continue, and other seats of monopoly blossomed in different archipelagos and followed the English plan of destruction rather than the lulling approach. For it is highly probable that the West Indies, Japan and other Eastern islands would rapidly imitate England, which on its own gives so much trouble to civilised man and barbarians, despite being the weakest of the great archipelagos that God created to punish and spur on Civilisation by means of humiliation and suffering.

This glimpse of the opportunities facing monopoly should not cause any anxiety, though, as Civilisation is approaching its end; and as soon as progressive Series have been organised, every insular power, even if it has a thousand rated ships, will be forced to give them up to the federal monarch of the globe without a single sword having to be drawn. But if we hypothesise the continuation of Civilisation, we shall see that insular monopoly, even in its most oppressive form, is still a salutary punishment from God, because it necessarily tends to dispel the philosophical torments and establish universal peace and the paramount unity of the globe. Indeed:

If the islanders follow the lulling approach I've described, they will very rapidly achieve global conquest, and as soon as the world is subject to one of the archipelagos, whether England or another, we shall see the insular sovereign *become part of the continent*. He will form the globe into a hundred kingdoms, all vassals of one great empire in which he will set up his residence, after which he will destroy the instrument of his elevation, reducing to insignificance the conquering island that served him as a stepping-stone, and use his navy to destroy the influence of the island navies, and at their expense consolidate the paramount unity he has set up, which is the government of the sixth period. The globe will thus have found a direct and speedy means of survival in a monopoly that adopts the lulling approach.

If the islanders follow the destructive plan that England has adopted, which is as slow and odious as the other is swift and noble, mankind may still find three different paths to survival which will lead to unity, to wit:

The success of monopoly.

The impatience of sovereigns.

Continental federation.

1. *The complete success of monopoly*, becoming absolute master by means of destruction or by the lulling approach, leads in either case to *continentalising the insular conqueror*, forming the globe into small kingdoms federated under a central empire, and thus to the subjection of the conqueror to the conquered, as China has more than once absorbed and subjected invading Tartars.

This subjection of the victorious island by the defeated continent is entirely comparable to those demagogic schemes where some mal-content incites the populace to crush the rich and then, having achieved power, sides with the landowners and muzzles the people. In the struggle between the archipelago and the continent it is surely clear that the archipelago plays the part of the insurgent populace, and that, as a tool, it will be broken, as agitators always break their tools, as soon as victory has been achieved.

2. *The impatience of sovereigns*. This could occur if some acts of piracy, like the Copenhagen expedition,⁶ finally made the kings realise the imbecility of the political sciences and the degradation into which they have led Civilisation. Then one sovereign, in a moment of anger, might threaten to banish all the inexact philosophers unless they discovered, within a year, a means of indirect aggression against the monopoly whose progress their mercantile systems have favoured. Faced with this threat, the frightened philosophers would make a virtue out of necessity and would suspend their quibbling while they tried to come up with some useful inventions, and sooner or later they would discover one of the means (for there are several) of defeating the insular monopoly without striking a blow, by purely political processes which lead to the sixth and seventh periods, and a unified government.

⁶ England left such attacks rather late. They would have been fine during the period when France was plunged into anarchy, when the continent had no rallying point and no focus for resistance. Then the English, by using a degree of violence, could have terrified the continent and utterly defeated it. But today, underhand actions like the Copenhagen affair serve only to strengthen support on the continent for the hero who can lead them out of mercantile servitude, and in this connection the invasion of Zealand and the pointless atrocities which accompanied it (like filling bombs with ground glass) is actually a positive event, as it must eventually reveal the need for a continental league. In my view, the whole continent, apart from the unfortunate city of Copenhagen, owes a vote of gratitude to those English ministers who were clumsy enough to lift their mask by that disgusting act of treachery. But anyway none of this matters, as we are about to leave Civilisation.

3. *Continental federation.* This third result is the one which has prevailed, and which may lead to the submission of England and the unity of the globe.

If the French federation covered the whole of Europe, rather than the half it has already united, and if one could just co-ordinate Europe around one centre of action and one combined plan of resistance, all the world's ports would be closed to England within a year. The powers of Asia, Africa and America would not be able to oppose the wishes of a league of Europe supported by a million troops. All that is necessary for the overthrow of the insular monopoly, therefore, is for a federal league to become established in Europe. And the importance of this league would lie not in the annihilation of the monopoly, which may always rise again from its ashes as long as Civilisation continues, but in the establishment of the governmental unity of the globe which constitutes entry into the 6th period, and prevents any revival of monopoly. It remains to be shown how this federal league of the globe should be organised in order to achieve such a desirable aim.

In short, then, there are three means of unity and survival that monopoly offers the globe, even through the disastrous system of continental destruction that has prevailed as a result of the political ignorance of the English. I was thus right to define insular monopoly as a *tiresome but salutary remedy administered to the globe by God*, one which, at the risk of causing us a degree of torment, must sooner or later lead to very happy results. Indeed:

The abuse of the remedy, or continental destruction, eventually provokes one of three salutary occurrences I have described.

The judicious use of the remedy, or lulling the continent, leads rapidly and smoothly to universal unity.

Finally, by one course or the other, monopoly brings about the complete collapse of philosophy, because it can only be overcome by procedures contrary to political and moral systems; it heaps ridicule on all their maxims during its reign, which venalises all minds, and by the degradation of those two sciences it leads to the blessing of unity, the path to which the philosophers were always completely incapable of discovering.

We may conclude from this that the insular monopoly, the target of so much ignorant criticism, is a wise arrangement of God's to

confound our enlightenment and procure us a good that we do not even dare to desire, the blessing of *social unity*, as monopoly leads us to this end whichever path it takes. Indeed we would be there already if the narrow-mindedness of our philosophers had not stifled the idea and caused the best opportunities to be lost.

I shall restrict myself to mentioning one of them, the most recent one to arise, from which it ought to have been possible to profit by forcing England to yield up its fleet to the federated states of the continent.

After the battle of Jena and the days which followed, in which Prussian ruin was completed, only three powers were left in Europe: France, Russia and Austria. Austria could have proposed a league with France in the cause of unity, stipulating in return 100 million subjects for the princes and friends of her house; and these two powers together could easily have convinced Russia to co-operate with them.³

No time has ever been more favourable for this operation, but Austria was so absorbed by the old ideas of balance and equilibrium that it probably never even glimpsed the magnificent course open to it.

As an agreement between those two powers would have entailed the adhesion of the whole continent, they would have proceeded to execute the plan under the direction of the French monarch. Consequently they would have sent out sufficient forces to occupy the Caucasus and Himalayan regions and assemble all the hordes of Asia on the Oxus. The wishes of the confederation of Civilisation would then have been notified to the Asian sovereigns, with a threat to change the dynasty and depose the functionaries of any empire that offered to resist. After which a hundred federal kingdoms would have been organised for the princes of Europe, with appropriate rank and fortune allotted to the great people of those regions, who only need their harems and their pipes and who, having always lived in a state of fear, will be very happy to have a settled existence in a more stable order than barbarism.

Yet instead of pondering these beneficent operations of unity, sovereigns persist in arguing endlessly over a few scraps of land,

³ The 1841 editors here referred the reader to an article Fourier published in the *Bulletin de Lyon* in 1803, under the title *Triumvirat Continental ou Paix perpétuelle sous trente ans*, reprinted as an appendix to Volume I of the *Oeuvres Complètes*.

when the globe provides them with vast empires to share in a way which even benefits the peoples who inhabit them. This narrowness of outlook of European politics is due to the influence of philosophy. By ranting against the spirit of conquest it turns mankind away from the one path to well-being compatible with the civilised order. Can there be any lasting peace on the globe while Civilisation continues, unless a *general conquest* brings all peoples together under one central government?

There is nothing more murderous than the moderation urged on sovereigns, the only outcome of which is to make wars last for ever, because there will always periodically be ambitious princes looking to invade other countries until there is a superior power on earth capable of guaranteeing general peace.

To sum up, then: since nautical science has given us the means to travel the globe, there has been no more salutary passion than a boundless ambition for conquest, because if one of the monarchs alone succeeds in conquering two-thirds of Europe, he can force the other third to range itself under his banner, and immediately bring about the federal league of the world and universal pacification.

Similarly, it is now clear that our theories of moderation, with their advice to each prince to be content with the fortune that chance has given him, are in fact theories of *perpetual carnage*, which only tend to make wars last for ever, because they do not give empires any guarantees against attacks from their neighbours, who can tear up treaties with impunity.

The chance to organise federal unity was lost in 1806, thanks to Austria's apathy. A more splendid chance is offered today to the united emperors of France and Russia. I do not know which of those two monarchs is at present more able to flatter himself that he has mastered fortune, but I do not think any mortal has ever been in a better position than Alexander is today, with fortune offering him the opportunity to share in the fruits of Napoleon's labours and joining with him in the magnificent undertaking of the federal unity of the globe.

And as insular monopoly tends in various ways towards the establishment of this unity, this superior authority which will be the guarantor of universal peace, my claim that this monopoly is a violent but salutary remedy administered by God to the social world

is justified; despite the appalling practices the monopoly has employed it is still a more sensible system than our philosophical theories, which all favour permanent warfare, and concomitantly favour the prolongation of the miseries of mankind, because they have led the monopolists to the most disastrous system of aggression, *continental destruction*, and the continentals to the most wrong-headed system of resistance, *active struggle* or *maritime struggle*, the absurdity of which will be evident from my explanation of the means by which Civilisation can speedily put an end to all monopoly by establishing the commercial order of the sixth period.

Interlude: System of development of civilisation

I warned you that I would scatter a few chapters on the theory of social movement through the course of this book: here is one which is entertaining, but which also should be read twice, in order fully to understand the movement of Civilisation, the progress and decay of which are represented in the table on the next page.

By pointing out the opportunity for social progress provided by insular monopoly and freemasonry, I have demonstrated the incompetence of modern politics, which have been incapable of profiting by these means of improvement, these ways out of Civilisation.

The moderns are blinder still on the subject of the commercial mechanism; an analysis of it will prove the philosophers' insistence on stifling truth in all its forms and ignoring the most obvious symptoms of our ignorance of the art of society.

The rule of the commercial spirit is represented here as a degeneration or decadence of the civilised order, and the table of the civilised mechanism, which follows, indicates the positions held by commerce and monopoly. I shall explain (in the 'Progressive table of civilised movement') how progress and decadence are operated solely by natural forces, without the inexact sciences ever having provided any assistance. Each phase has special attributes which I shall not go into here.

Progress and decadence

The two phases of *ascending vibration* effect the diminution of direct or personal servitude.

Progressive table of civilised movement

1st phase		<i>Ascending vibration</i>
		INFANCY
	<i>Seed</i>	Monogamy or exclusive marriage
	<i>Pivot</i>	Wife's civil rights
2nd phase		GROWTH
	<i>Seed</i>	Nobiliary feudalism
<i>Apogee or plenitude</i>	<i>Pivot</i>	Emancipation of workers
<i>Descending vibration</i>		
3rd phase		DECLINE
	<i>Seed</i>	Nautical science
	<i>Pivot</i>	Insular monopoly
4th phase		DECAY
	<i>Seed</i>	Limited entry to the professions
	<i>Pivot</i>	Commercial feudalism

The two phases of *descending vibration* affect the growth of collective or indirect servitude.

The *Apogee* is the period when the sixteen characters of Civilisation are fully developed and take *the least vile* forms; I do not say *the most noble* because this society is always odious, its four phases varying only in the detail of their constantly dominant treachery and iniquity.

The table contains an apparent contradiction in that Civilisation *falls into decline* with the development of nautical science, even though it is at the heart of social progress: for an explanation, see the definition of the word *decline* on page 93, where I show how the social period can decline as its social capacities progress.

By the term *nautical science*, I mean large-scale navigation that can extend to traversing and ruling the globe. This skill is the finest achievement of the human mind, and is only suited to the sixth and subsequent periods, not to Civilisation. When Civilisation rises to such a degree of scientific understanding, it is only to its own

misfortune. It takes on more than it can handle; indeed, in our hands nautical science produces insular monopoly, and other calamities which could not occur in the sixth period, and this excess of knowledge becomes harmful, in the same way that good food can damage your health if you eat too much of it. The proper scope for civilised abilities lies in small-scale navigation: large-scale navigation should not have been organised until the sixth period, because it gives rise to a host of social storms, which engender the third and fourth phases, the period's decline and decay.

Each of the four phases of Civilisation has its moment of plenitude or apogee, as does the period as a whole. It is clear that the third phase is *at its fullest*, as we see the exclusive rule of insular monopoly and all the catastrophes, like bankruptcy, speculation, hoarding, etc., that stem from mercantile politics.

N.B. This abbreviated table of progressive movement has no connection with mechanical movement, which would represent the system of passionate counter-march in compound order, the sixteen manoeuvres of character or developments of passions in inverse order. It would indicate their systematic points of encounter and separation, by collision, conflict and divergence. Then the diffraction of the seven primitives and their formation into recurrent series; and finally the great pitched battle of the passions. I say great battle because although the passions are constantly at odds with each other in the five societies of isolated households, in Civilisation the clash between them presents more costly and more complicated manoeuvres than in any other period. The civilised mechanism is thus the most unpleasant political horror in the universe, as it is a complete reversal of the combined order, which is the wisest of all God's arrangements.

Note that in the three phases of Civilisation we have already been through philosophy never co-operated with social progress, though arrogating to itself whatever slight honours were due in that area. It was always *passive* in regard to Social Movement; I have already given some indications of this, which I shall assemble here.

1st phase. This arises when wives are granted civil rights. This is what the ancient philosophers like Confucius and the philosophers of Egypt and India never worried about, never showing the least intention of ameliorating the position of women. Women then had even less freedom than they do today, sharing none of the

various amorous rights, such as repudiation; and moralists, then as now, were indifferent to their well-being.

2nd phase. Civilisation enters this phase by the alleviation of slavery. We have seen how this improvement was the effect of nobiliary feudalism, which provided farming communities with the means of *collective and progressive* emancipation. Attaching serfs to a glebe rather than an individual turned the weaknesses of each seigneurial lord to their advantage; and as the community was able to obtain a concession here as a result of the father's avarice, and a concession there out of the son's good nature, it gradually progressed towards liberty. This was a process of which the ancient philosophers were still totally ignorant.

3rd phase. This phase developed through the influence of commercial politics, the origin of which lies in the colonial monopolies. This influence was not in any way predicted by the philosophers, nor have they found any way to counter-balance it, or even to attack it in its most oppressive form, namely insular monopoly. Their only engagement with commercial politics has been to preach vice instead of combating it, as I shall demonstrate later.

4th phase. Civilisation reaches this point through the influence of *a limited number of qualified professionals* who, protected by privilege, exclude the best qualified applicants and restrict access to their jobs. Such companies harbour the seed of a vast feudal coalition, which would soon invade the whole financial and industrial system and create industrial feudalism. The philosophers were very far from foreseeing this, and while they were infatuated with the mercantile spirit whose influence they so little predicted, the events were already in preparation which would change that policy, and make us descend to the fourth phase of Civilisation.

But these sophists are not interested in predicting future storms, they only see social movement in retrograde, and only concern themselves with the past and the present. Today when the mercantile spirit is dominant they will decide, as they always do, that the current state of things is the perfection of reason. They will only hold forth on what they can see, without ever assuming that the civilised order might take new forms.

And when Civilisation subsequently arrives at its fourth phase, when commercial feudalism is fully established, the philosophers will intervene after the event and form a new coterie of controversy

about it; we shall see them preaching the vices of the fourth phase, and selling torrents of books on the new order, seeing it too as the embodiment of the perfection of perfectibility, just as they regard the mercantile spirit today.

Third demonstration: Commercial licence: Its known vices and its unknown dangers

Introduction

Here we are dealing with the most tangible aspect of Civilisation, where it is hard not to raise one's voice against the madness of the present time and against the chimeras which are so fashionable.

To speak out today against the absurdities of commerce is to run the risk of being anathematised, as if one had spoken out in the twelfth century against the tyranny of the popes and the barons. In fact if I had to choose between two dangerous roles, I think there would be less risk of offending a sovereign with troublesome facts than of offending the mercantile character which reigns despotically over Civilisation and even over its sovereigns.

Nobody ever makes sound social judgements when they are in the depths of an infatuation, as witness the commercial systems: the slightest analysis will show that they deprave Civilisation and disorganise it in every way, and that in matters of commerce, as in everything else, they are going further and further astray under the auspices of the inexact sciences.

The controversy over commerce has scarcely been going on for half a century and its authors have already produced thousands of volumes without realising that the mechanism of commerce is organised against all common sense. All the essential classes – proprietors, farmers, manufacturers, even the government – are controlled by a secondary class, by merchants who ought to be their inferiors, their commission agents, removable and responsible, and yet who direct and obstruct at will all the resources of circulation.

This is the basis of my argument: I shall establish that in a good political system the commercial body must be *liable to itself and underwritten by itself* and that the body of society must be assured against bankruptcies, speculation, hoarding, usury, waste and other disorders which stem from the current system, a system which ought long ago to have aroused the indignation of all political writers if they had a fraction of the respect for moral principle that they lay such public claim to.

In this first memorandum I do not want to do more than broach the subject, pointing out the scandals which bear witness to this loss of direction, and which aroused me to discover a less criminal mode of exchange than the current one, which they call *free competition*.

Exchange, like every other relationship, has a procedure specially assigned to each period, for example:

In the 4th period (or barbarism), *forced sale*, maximisations, tariffs, etc.

In the 5th period (or Civilisation), *free competition*, independence of the merchant.

In the 6th period (or guaranteeism), *societary competition*, solidarity and subordination of the commercial body to the interests of the producers, manufacturers, farmers and proprietors.

There are other procedures for different periods, which I do not mention here as I only want to deal with the sixth, *societary competition*, which is compatible with our practices, and which is already preferable to free trade, which itself is preferable to maximisations, tariffs and other customs of the fourth period or barbarism.

I shall treat this debate from the point of view of Civilisation, as if the laws of movement had not been discovered; let us forget their discovery for a moment and let our thoughts proceed as if their task was merely to look for a remedy to the commercial disorders of Civilisation. Let us see what approach the economists, who claim some competence in commercial affairs, might have adopted in this situation.

In the course of the discussion that follows I shall have occasion to express unflattering opinions of commerce in general, but I have said already that my criticism of a profession is not a criticism of the

individuals who follow it. Anyone who denounces the manoeuvrings of market-riggers, lawyers or anybody else might well be even more grasping if he were in their place; one should never blame the passions of individuals, only Civilisation which offers no path but vice for the satisfaction of the passions, and thus forces man to practise vices to obtain wealth, without which there is no happiness.

The digression will be divided as follows:

1. *Origin of political economy and the mercantile controversy.*
2. *Plunder of the social body by bankruptcy.*
3. *By hoarding.*
4. *By speculation.*
5. *By waste.*
6. *Decay of Civilisation through the commercial spirit, leading to the fourth phase.*

Origin of political economy and the mercantile controversy

Here is a topic really worthy of the period. Muse, tell us once more of the exploits of those bold innovators who overthrew ancient philosophy, *the economists*, a sect which suddenly arose out of nowhere and dared to attack the revered dogmas of Greece and Rome. The true models of virtue, the Cynics, the Peripatetics, all the well-known lovers of poverty and mediocrity, are discomfited and yield to the economists who fight for the cause of luxury. Divine Plato, divine Seneca, are hounded from their thrones; the black broth of the Spartans, Cincinnatus' radishes, Diogenes' smock, the whole arsenal of the moralists is rendered powerless, and all fly before the impious innovators who permit love of splendour, good food and the basest metals, like gold and silver.

In vain have the Rousseaus and the Mablys bravely defended the honour of Greece and Rome. In vain have they represented to the nations the eternal truths of ethics, 'that poverty is a blessing, that we must renounce riches and embrace philosophy without delay'.^d

^d These are the actual words of Seneca, the man worth 80 million. He wants everyone to get rid of their wealth instantly. He does not allow any delay. 'What are you waiting for?' he asks. 'Don't put it off until tomorrow, abandon your riches today and give yourself up to philosophy.'

This is the sort of trickery which has occupied civilisation for the last 2,000

Argument is futile! Nothing could stand in the way of the new dogmas: the corrupt century breathes nothing but commercial treaties and trade balances in sous and deniers. The colours of the Portico and the Lyceum have been deserted for the academies of commerce and the societies of the friends of commerce. For the inexact sciences, the invasion of the economists has been a second Pharsalia, when the wisdom of Athens and Rome and the whole of antiquity suffered an irreversible defeat.

Humanly speaking, Civilisation has changed phase, passing from the second to the third, in which the spirit of commerce completely dominates and rules politics. This change is brought about by the progress of nautical science and the colonial monopolies. The philosophers, whose interventions in social movement always come after the event, ranged themselves with the century's general attitude and started to promote the commercial spirit after they saw that it was the dominant one, thus creating the sect of economists and the mercantile controversy.

Why have the philosophers changed their minds after so many centuries, and started to involve themselves in the commercial matters they used to scorn? They always used to ridicule commerce in antiquity. All the writers used to make fun of merchants, saying with Horace that the science of commerce boiled down to knowing

What is a hundred francs at five per cent? Five pounds!⁴

The influence of Tyre and Carthage showed that commercial power was capable of overcoming agricultural power and influencing the whole governmental system. *But as this had not happened, it never could happen.* This is the pattern of philosophical judgements, which only ever look at social movement retrospectively, such that future generations will depict civilised politics with its head facing backwards, looking fixedly into the past.

years, the sort of rubbish which has passed for wisdom. Today we can recognise the absurdity of the thinkers who advise us 'to throw our treacherous riches into the depths of the greedy sea' (J.-B. Rousseau). Yet these phrasemongers are still not the most absurd: there are more inept, and more culpable, play-actors in the coterie of economists, whose assumption of a masque of rationality makes them even more dangerous.

⁴ This is actually a misquotation from Boileau, who has 'Cent francs au denier cinq, combien font-ils? Vingt livres' ('What is a hundred francs at twenty per cent? Twenty pounds.') (*Satire VIII*, 184.)

During the course of the eighteenth century, the inexact sciences continued to retain the ancient bias that regarded commerce with disdain, as witness the spirit that still ruled in France as late as 1788. Disputes between scholars still sometimes contained scathing references to opponents as *tradesmen's sons*, and this was a cruel insult. This was the opinion throughout the provinces: the mercantile spirit was restricted to the ports and the capitals where the major bankers and speculators lived. It was only in 1789 that merchants were transformed into demi-gods, and that the scientific cabal openly took their side and exalted them as useful instruments of their designs.

Commerce was thus originally despised and misunderstood by the philosophers [who even today understand it so little that they confuse it with the useful category of manufacture]. Commerce only won the full approval of these thinkers when it was already completely victorious, like doctors who are only spoken highly of once they appear in a carriage and six: then orators start celebrating their virtues and dining with them. This is how philosophy behaved towards the commercial spirit, only trying to win its favour when it had achieved the pinnacle of success, not deeming it worthy of attention thitherto. Spain, Portugal, Holland and England exercised commercial monopolies for a long time before philosophy thought of praising or censuring them. Holland was able to amass vast riches without asking the economists for help; indeed the Dutch had accumulated tons of gold before their sect was even created, while the philosophers were still rummaging about in antiquity, or interfering in religious quarrels.

Finally, they realised that this new politics of commerce and monopoly could provide material for quantities of large books and accreditation for a new coterie; at that point philosophy gave birth to the sects of economists who, despite their recent origins, have already amassed hundreds of volumes and look likely to equal the number of books produced by their predecessors.

Like all sophists, these newcomers clouded the subject as much as possible so as to fuel controversy and live at the expense of their readers. It is true to say that far from discovering anything, the economists still do not even know what they are talking about, for on the most important questions, such as the *limits to be set to population*, they admit that *their science has no fixed theories*. They there-

fore produce no definite results, and it is thus hard to see what purpose they can serve. This however is of no consequence to the authors: the presses groan, the books sell, and so the aim of philosophy is fulfilled.

We might ask the economists whether their purpose is to diminish or to augment the political scourges, like increased taxation, encroaching chicanery, the growth of armies, more bankruptcy and deceit, etc. There can be no doubt that all these scourges have increased more rapidly than ever since the birth of economic theories. Would it not have been better for that science to have made less progress, and thus for less harm to be done?

What interests led the philosophers, those ardent apostles of truth, to range themselves during the eighteenth century beneath the banner of lies, that is to say, of commerce? For what is commerce but lies, with its paraphernalia of bankruptcy, crooked speculation, usury and every other sort of deceitfulness? Modern philosophy ignores all these scandals: let us point out the causes of this effrontery, and apply to these thinkers' conduct the analytic methods they want to apply to everything else.

When they decided to extol the virtues of commerce, the only issues they took into account were what things meant in terms of gold: the size of mercantile fortunes and the speed at which they were amassed; the independence of the merchant's position, which is the freest and the one that gives most scope to ambition; the air of lofty speculation which covers the lowest schemes the worst dullard can think up and organise within a month (if somebody will teach him, for nobody learns anything in commerce); and finally the ostentation of the jobbers and hoarders who rival the highest in the State in eminence: all this glamour dazzled the thinkers, who were reduced to so much scheming and burning of midnight oil to gain a few pence by producing some degrading tome or other. They were stunned and disoriented by the sight of these commercial plutocrats, and hesitated between servile flattery and criticism. In the end, the weight of gold tipped the balance, and they became the committed and humble servants of the merchants, and admirers of the mercantile science they had once so fiercely ridiculed.

And how could they fail to admire those speculators who, as Boileau put it,

Possessed the secret knowledge
That five and four make nine, take away two, leaves seven,⁵

those men who, armed with that knowledge, managed to acquire a palace in the city in which they had arrived with only a few pence in their pockets? They lead a life of splendour in the capitals alongside poverty-stricken scholars and thinkers. The philosopher who is invited to the house of a speculator finds himself seated between a courtesan and an ambassador: what course can he take in that situation save to praise the leading lights of the day?

For nobody gets anywhere in Civilisation by telling the truth, which is why, despite nursing a secret hatred of commerce, the philosophers have bowed down before the golden calf, and dare not write a page without sounding the praises of boundless commerce, and commerce unbounded.

They had everything to gain from attacking it; they could have regained respect and made up for their failures by denouncing the pillage carried out in the name of commerce, which they secretly despised as much as commerce despises them.

Analysis of this pillage will show that the body of merchants (who are not to be confused with manufacturers) is no better than a combination of pirates in the social order, a horde of vultures devouring agricultural and manufacturing industry and enslaving the whole body of society.

This is not to criticise them as individuals: they do not realise the maleficence of their profession; and when they do recognise it, it would be hard to blame anybody for robbery in Civilisation when the whole of civilised society is an interplay of swindlers and victims, a fact which is already all too familiar, and of which new proof will emerge in the chapters that follow.

Robbery of the social body by bankruptcy

When a crime happens frequently you get used to observing it unemotionally. In Spain or Italy you see hired assassins coolly stab their victim and then escape with impunity by taking refuge in a church. In France and Germany, where the national character abhors treachery, a murder like that would arouse so much horror

⁵ Boileau, *Satire* VIII, 213-14.

that the assassin might well be torn to pieces by the crowd before the forces of law and order could arrest him.

Often you find crimes that are common in one nation regarded with horror in the neighbouring country. In Italy fathers mutilate and murder their children in order to perfect their voices. The ministers of the God of peace encourage these cruelties by taking these unfortunate victims of paternal greed as altar boys: and there you have more abominations to arouse the horror of every other civilised nation.

You will find similarly revolting customs among the French, the Germans, the Russians and the English, which would stir up outrage among the Italians or the Spanish, such as the English custom of leading a wife to market, with a rope round her neck, to put her up for sale, and a number of other coarse customs of that nation, more savage than civilised, like their habit of insulting and molesting foreigners, who often receive more respect from savages than from the inhabitants of London and the English provinces.

If customs and opinions differ so much from one nation to another, how much greater must the difference be between societies! The vices tolerated in Civilisation will seem extremely odious in less imperfect societies. In the sixth (*Guaranteeism*), which is still a long way from perfection, people will find it hard to believe that empires which claim to be organised and well-governed, and that have theories about property and justice, could have tolerated abominations like bankruptcy for a moment.

Bankruptcy is the most ingenious and most shameless form of dishonesty that has ever existed, enabling every merchant confidently to steal from the public a sum proportionate to his fortune or his credit. So that a rich man might say to himself, 'I set up in business in 1808 and on the same day in 1810 I shall steal so many millions from whoever it may concern.'

Let us leave aside one current aspect, the new French Code, with its promise to suppress bankruptcy, as opinions differ about this hope and there already appear to be various ways of evading the new laws, and wait to see what experience shows (if Civilisation lasts long enough for that). Instead let us look for the time being at what we know, the disorder caused by the philosophical system and by the principle: 'Give merchants complete freedom, without demanding any guarantee about the prudence, probity or solvency of any of them.'

As well as to other abuses, this gives rise directly to bankruptcy, a more despicable form of theft than highway robbery, yet one which people have become used to and tolerant of; so much so that they even regard some as *honest bankruptcies*, when the speculator only takes half the total sum. Let me give you an example.

The banker Dorante, who is worth 2 million, wants 4 or 5 million, quickly, and by whatever means it takes. On the strength of his fortune he obtains credit of eight million, in bills of exchange, commodities, etc. He thus has 10 million to work with. He goes in for speculation, rigging the supply of commodities and government stocks. At the end of the year, let us imagine that instead of doubling the two million he started out with, he has lost it. You would think he would be ruined, but he is not: far from it, he will have the four million just as he would if his speculations had been successful. He still has the 8 million he obtained on credit and, having suffered an *honest failure*, he arranges to pay back half that sum over the next few years. Thus, having lost his patrimony of 2 million, he now has 4 million he has taken from the public. Commercial freedom is a very fine thing! Now you realise why every day you hear someone say of a merchant, 'He is very comfortably-off since his business failed.'

Another stroke of luck for the bankrupt is that, after his theft of 4 million, Dorante continues to be held in great respect and public esteem, not as a fortunate robber but as an unfortunate merchant. Let us examine the explanation for this.

When he was premeditating his bankruptcy, Dorante courted public opinion: his feats, both in town and in the country, won him enthusiastic supporters; all the brilliant youth are for him, the beautiful women all commiserate with him on his *misfortune* (misfortune is the modern synonym for bankruptcy), and they all praise the nobility of his character, so deserving of a better fate. To listen to the apologists of a bankrupt you would think he was worse off than those who have lost their fortunes to him. All the blame is laid on political occurrences, disastrous circumstances, and other forms of verbiage familiar to lawyers, who excel at withstanding the attacks of angry creditors.

After the first onslaught Dorante brings in some mediators, a few coins distributed in the right places, and soon public opinion has been so successfully outwitted that anybody speaking against

Dorante is likely to be accused of cannibalism. In addition to this, the people he persuaded to part with the largest sums of money are 100 or 200 leagues away, in Hamburg or Amsterdam. They will calm down in time, and anyway it does not matter, as their distant gossip will not have any effect in Paris. After all, Dorante only lost half his money, and custom has decided that losing half is not so much culpable as unfortunate. Thus, from the very outset, Dorante is publicly whitewashed. After a month, public opinion will be distracted by other more sensational bankruptcies, with losses three or four times greater. This adds new lustre to Dorante, who only took half, and whose affair is now over and forgotten. His house gradually opens again for public hospitality, his cook wins people over again, and confounds the complaints of the few atrabilious creditors who have no respect for *misfortune* and do not understand the consideration due to high society.

So fewer than six months sees the completion of the operation by means of which Dorante and his like steal millions from the public, ruin the families who have deposited money with them, and drag honest merchants into bankruptcy that places them on the same footing as crooks. Bankruptcy is the only social crime which proceeds like an epidemic, bringing the same opprobrium down on honest men as on knaves. An honest merchant who is subjected to the bankruptcies of twenty crooks will finally be forced into insolvency like them.

That is how the dishonest bankrupts, who account for nine-tenths of the total, give themselves out to be men of probity who have had *misfortunes* and proclaim in chorus that *they are more sinned against than sinning*. To hear them, you would think they were all saints, like convicted prisoners, who always claim they have never done anything wrong.

The supporters of commercial licence will talk about repressive laws and tribunals: yes indeed, tribunals against people who steal several millions at a time.

The dictum that justice only nets the petty thieves is disproved in commerce: bankrupts, even the smallest, evade the pursuit of authority thanks to the protection of the merchants themselves. That is the truth.

Scapin, a small shopkeeper, is declared bankrupt for 40,000 livres. He misappropriates 30,000 livres, which is to be his profit

from the operation. Then he presents his creditors with the 10,000 livres remaining. If they ask him to account for the missing 30,000, he replies that he cannot keep accounts like rich merchants, and that he has had *misfortunes*. You would imagine that Scapin would be punished, as he is a petty thief who has embezzled 30,000 livres; but the creditors do not realise that if they go to law the costs will eat up the remaining 10,000 livres, which is just small beer as far as the courts are concerned. After the 10,000 has been used up, and no decision has been reached, they will have to disburse another 10,000 if they want to see Scapin hanged, and still have no certainty of success. So it is more sensible to accept the modest sum of 10,000 livres than to pay out the same amount again. Scapin turns this to his advantage by employing a lawyer, so that the bankrupt himself is threatening his creditors with the law. And, anyway, why should Scapin's creditors deal severely with him? Some will want to follow his noble example, while others will already have preceded him in the same course. Just as wolves do not eat each other, Scapin will soon find a number of signatories to agree to his proposals. Others will sign for fear of seeing the law involved and the money used up; a few recalcitrants will speak of sacrificing everything for the sake of seeing a rogue sentenced to penal servitude. Then Scapin will send his wife and children to beg for mercy with practised howls and wails, and thus in a matter of days Scapin and his lawyer will obtain a majority of signatures, and will be able to laugh off the few who still refuse because they no longer need them. Scapin blithely responds to their anger with soft words and low bows; and having seen the success of his first bankruptcy, is already contemplating a second.

It is pointless to cite the few fraudulent bankrupts who have been punished: 99 out of every 100 are successful, and if the hundredth fails, it is probably because he is a fool who could not manage to conduct the scheme properly; for it is such a safe operation nowadays that nobody bothers with the old precautions any more. Once the bankrupt would flee to Trent, Liège or Carouge, but that custom has been abandoned since the regeneration of 1789. Everyone has gone back to *bankruptcy at home*; they calmly make their preparations, and when the affair breaks they spend a month in the country with their family and friends, while the lawyer deals with everything. After a few weeks they return, and the public is so used

to these escapades that everybody treats it good-naturedly. It is called *confinement*, and they say coolly *so and so has just come back from his confinement*.

I have said that bankruptcy is the only social crime that operates like an epidemic, and forces honest men to behave like crooks. As evidence of this I shall cite the example of *sequential fire* bankruptcy. There are over a hundred different kinds of bankruptcy: such is the perfection of reason under modern philosophy.

Sequential fire bankruptcy. The Jew Iscariot arrives in France with 100,000 livres' capital which he gained from his first bankruptcy. He sets up as a merchant in a town where there are six rival companies, all accredited and respected. To gain custom Iscariot begins by selling all his goods at cost price, which is a sure way of attracting the crowds. His rivals soon start shouting, but Iscariot smiles at their complaints and continues happily giving away goods at cost price.

The people think this is wonderful, and sing the praises of competition, the Jews, philosophy and fraternity. Everything has come down in price since Iscariot's arrival, and the public turn to the rival companies and say, 'It is you, sirs, who are the real Jews, the greedy ones. Iscariot is the only honest man among you, he is content with a small profit because he does not have a splendid household to maintain as you do.' It is in vain for the established merchants to claim that Iscariot is a crook in disguise, and that sooner or later he will go bankrupt: the public accuse them of jealousy and slander, and flock to Iscariot in ever-increasing numbers.

This is the thief's calculation: by selling at cost price all he stands to lose is the interest on his funds, which amounts to perhaps 10,000 livres a year, but in its place he gains a substantial market, wins a reputation in the ports as an important customer, and is granted a great deal of credit as long as he is prompt with his payments. This set-up continues for two years, at the end of which Iscariot has gained nothing, but has sold a vast quantity of goods. Nobody knows his method of working, because Jews only employ Jews, a people who are the secret enemy of all nations, and who never reveal a fraud planned by one of their number.

When everything is prepared for the final stroke, Iscariot brings his full creditworthiness into play, gives large commissions in all the ports and buys 500 to 600 thousand livres' worth of goods on

credit. He sends all the goods abroad and sells everything in his warehouses at very low prices. When he has realised the latter, honest Iscariot disappears with the money, and returns to Germany, where he has sent all the goods he bought on credit. These he rapidly sells, and finds himself four times richer on his return from France than he was when he arrived there. With 400 thousand livres to his name he sets out for Livorno or London to prepare a third bankruptcy.

At this point the scales fall from people's eyes in the town where he carried out his coup. They realise the danger of admitting Jews into commerce, as they are vagabonds who care for nothing. But Iscariot's bankruptcy is merely the first act of the farce: let us follow its consequences and see the sequential fire.

There were six companies in competition with the Israelite: let us call them A, B, C, D, E and F.

A had been in difficulties for some time, sustaining himself without capital, living off his good name; but Iscariot's arrival having removed his custom, he could only struggle on for a year, after which he lost courage and, not having any idea of the new philosophical systems that protect vagabonds, was forced to give way to Iscariot's tactics and declare himself *bankrupt*.

B bore the attack for longer. He saw Iscariot's dishonesty a mile off and prepared to wait until the storm passed before winning back the custom stolen from him by the scheming Israelite; but in the interval he was hit by a large bankruptcy elsewhere, and this was enough to precipitate his downfall. He thought he would be able to last out for two years, but after fifteen months he was forced to declare himself *bankrupt*.

C was trading in association with a company in another town which was ruined by another Iscariot (for there is one in every town). C was caught up in his associate's collapse and, after eighteen months of sacrifices in an attempt to sustain the Hebrew thief's competition, C was forced to declare himself *bankrupt*.

D's probity was more apparent than real. He had the wherewithal to continue, despite twenty months of competition from the Jew. But angered by the losses he had sustained he slipped into the corruption he saw so much of around him and, observing that his three fellow-merchants had opened the way for him, realised that he could be the fourth, whether his pretended misfortune was real

or fictional. After that, and fed up with his twenty-month battle against Iscariot, he thought the most sensible thing to do would be to declare himself *bankrupt*.

E had lent large sums of money to the four merchants who had gone into insolvency, believing them to be financially sound, as indeed they were before Iscariot's scheme took away their business. The collapse of the four companies caught him unawares, in addition to which he no longer had any customers as they had all flocked to Iscariot who was selling goods at cost price. E found himself without means, his credit exhausted, his creditors pressing so, unable to meet his commitments, he ended up declaring himself *bankrupt*.

Although F still had plenty of means, the collapse of the other five led to his being refused credit in every port, as they suspected that F would soon follow his fellow merchants. Moreover, some of those who terminated their agreement with him started selling at very low prices to meet prior contractual liabilities. Wanting to speed up sales they lost a tenth and gained perhaps four-tenths, having reconciled themselves to losing half the value. F is crushed by this, and reduced like his fellows to declaring himself *bankrupt*.

That is how the establishment of one vagabond or one Jew is enough completely to undermine the merchant body of a large town, and involve the most honest of men in crime. For all bankruptcy is criminal to a greater or lesser extent, however much it is disguised under specious pretexts, like those in the examples I have given. There is very little truth in any of the pretexts: what it comes down to in the end is that each one skilfully seizes opportunities to carry out a robbery which will go unpunished. If to bankruptcy we add crooked speculation and the host of other disgraceful activities spawned by philosophical theories, there will be general agreement with the opinion I put forward earlier, namely that civilised man has never committed so much political folly as since the advent of the commercial spirit and these systems which claim that every mercantile enterprise must be contributing to the general good, and that merchants must have total freedom, without any guarantee being demanded about the results of their operations.

How did the philosophers, who think of nothing but counter-balances and guarantees, fail to think about obtaining the kind of guarantee for the social body that governments have the good sense

to demand from their fiscal agents? A prince assures himself of the trustworthiness of his tax-collectors by means of securities and the inevitable prospect of punishment if they dare risk or squander the public funds they hold in trust.

Why do we not see half the tax-collectors appropriate the sums they have gathered and then write a pitiful letter to the government, saying, 'The misfortunes of the time, critical circumstances, deplorable setbacks, etc.: in short, I am bankrupt, insolvent, or some other word. Your coffers should contain 10 million: I am offering to give you half that, 5 million, payable in five years' time. Have pity on the misfortune of a poor tax-collector, continue to trust me and allow me the management of your coffers, without which I will not even be able to pay the half that I am offering. If you allow me to retain my position and continue to collect revenue I shall do all in my power to honour my commitments, i.e. I shall regale you with a second bankruptcy when the coffers are full up again.'

This, in abridged form, is what all letters from insolvents say. The reason tax-collectors do not follow their example is that they are well aware that no philosophical theory would be able to save them from the punishment which bankrupts evade as a result of the principle that *merchants must be granted total freedom, with no guarantees demanded against malpractice.*

To sum up, then: the body of merchants being trustees of a portion of the public wealth, and each merchant using the sums entrusted to him to gamble on risky speculations with no regulation apart from his own fancy, there are bound to be large numbers of blunders and bankruptcies, as a result of which the producers and depositors of capital have to suffer the losses of foolish enterprises to which they never gave their consent. To obviate this injustice, the commercial body should have to submit to a guarantee, such that no merchant and no company of entrepreneurs could risk and lose what they have.

There is an operation which achieves that end, which makes the commercial body its own *insurer* and the social body *insured* against commerce. Once this operation has been carried out, bankruptcy, crooked speculation and discredit can no longer continue to exist. Commerce will use at most a quarter of the agents and the capital which they currently divert from productive labour. There is no urgency to reveal what this operation is, as it is a sixth-period pro-

cedure, and one that is completely opposed to this absurd system they call *free competition*.

Let us continue investigating these commercial scandals, and the pillage that leads us to treat the whole of the present commercial system with suspicion, and to look for a method of exchange that is less corrupt than free competition, which would be better named *anarchic competition*.

[I have only described three sorts of bankruptcy. In the Treatise, I shall provide a list of forty-two sorts, but three is enough for a *prospectus*.]

Robbery of the social body by hoarding

Gold gives even ugliness a tinge of beauty.

This maxim has never been more effectively demonstrated than by the protection and respect that hoarders have gained under the auspices of modern philosophy, which allows no basis for judgement except the amount of gold involved, and which flatters all the dominant vices in order to hide its ignorance and remedy it.

Hoarding is the most odious of all social crimes because it always attacks the poorer sections of the workforce. If a shortage of basic foodstuffs or any other commodity occurs, hoarders are always on the lookout for ways of making the situation worse. They buy up the existing provision, put a down payment on any new supplies that are expected, take them out of circulation, then double or triple the price by schemes that exaggerate the scarcity of the goods, and spread fears that are only recognised as illusory when it is too late. They have the same effect on the industrial body as a band of executioners would have on a battlefield, if they went around hacking and enlarging the wounds of the injured.

One factor that has contributed to the current favour enjoyed by hoarders is that they were persecuted by the Jacobins, a struggle from which they emerged more triumphant than ever, as anybody who raised his voice against them immediately seemed to be echoing the Jacobins. Nobody seems to realise that the Jacobins massacred all kinds of people without distinction, whether they were honest men or brigands. Did they not send Hébert and Malesherbes, Chaumette and Lavoisier, to the same scaffold? And just because

these four men were sacrificed to the same faction, does it follow that they should all be regarded as equally blameworthy, and that we should think of Hébert and Chaumette as good men because the Jacobins immolated them like Malesherbes and Lavoisier? The same reasoning can be applied to crooked speculators and hoarders: they may have been persecuted by the enemies of order, but they are nonetheless destructive for that, vultures unleashed against honest workers.

Despite this they have found supporters among the class of thinkers called *economists*, and nothing is more highly regarded today than the form of hoarding and market-rigging known in current jargon as *speculation and banking*, it being indecent to call things by their proper names.

One very bizarre consequence of the civilised order is that if you directly suppress a group of obvious ill-doers, such as hoarders, the evil grows worse and the goods get scarcer. This was quite convincingly demonstrated under the Terror. It is this that has led philosophers to conclude that *merchants must be left alone*. A fine remedy for an evil, that, to allow it to continue because nobody knows how to stop it! They ought to have looked for an antidote and, until such time as one was found, to have condemned their shady dealings instead of extolling them. They needed to encourage the search for a procedure capable of suppressing them (societary competition)

And why do the philosophers make light of disasters such as bankruptcy, market-rigging, hoarding, usury, etc.? Because public opinion would say: 'We are aware of all the misfortunes you go on about, but as you are scholars with more understanding than us, use your energy to discover some remedy for them. So far your science and rhetoric have been useless, like the wittering of a doctor who recites Latin and Greek names to a sick man but does not provide any relief for his symptoms.' Foreseeing this tiresome compliment, the philosophers deem it sensible to confuse us about evil, rather than admitting it, so they prove that hoarding and market-rigging are the perfect form of the perfection of perfectibility. With all their verbosity about analytic methods, metaphysical abstraction and the perception of sensation giving rise to ideas, they plunge you into a scientific lethargy and persuade you that everything in the social order is for the best. Forced to make their living by selling

books, which they have to write on whatever subject they can, and accustomed, like lawyers, to pleading bad cases as well as good, they find it much easier to extol and disguise the dominant vices than to spend all their time fruitlessly seeking for remedies when they could be writing another book.

Thus it is that the economists, including Adam Smith, have praised hoarding as something that operates to the common good. Let us analyse the achievements of these hoarders or speculators. I shall give two examples, one on the hoarding of grain, which is the most dangerous sort, and the other on the hoarding of materials, which appears to be more excusable as it only damages industry, instead of hitting the people directly.

1. *Hoarding of grain.* The fundamental principle of commercial systems, the principle of *giving merchants total freedom*, accords them absolute ownership of the commodities they deal in. They have the right to take them out of circulation, to hide them, even to burn them, as the Dutch East India Company has done more than once, publicly burning their stocks of cinnamon in order to raise its price. What they did with cinnamon they would have done with wheat, if they had not been afraid of the people's reaction. They would have burned a portion of their wheat, or left it to rot, so that they could sell the remainder at four times its value. Every day on the docks you see them throwing supplies of grain into the water because some merchant has left it to rot while he waited for the price to go up. I myself, as a clerk, have presided over these despicable operations, one day throwing into the sea twenty thousand quintals of rice, which could have been sold before it rotted for a decent profit, if the owner had not been so greedy for gain. It is the body of society who has to bear the cost of this wastage, which happens day after day under the protection of the philosophical principle of *laissez-faire: let the merchants do whatever they like*.

Imagine that a rich company of merchants, following this principle, corners all the grain in a small state such as Ireland, in a famine year like 1709, when the general scarcity and prohibitions on exports from neighbouring states have made it practically impossible to import grain from elsewhere. Imagine that the company, having bought up all the available stocks of grain, refuses to release them at less than three or four times their cost, saying, "This grain is our property and we want to sell it for four times what we

paid for it. If you don't want to buy it on these terms, go and buy it somewhere else. It may be that a quarter of the population will die of hunger in the meantime, but we don't care about that. We shall continue with our speculation, according to the principles of commercial freedom, as enshrined in modern philosophy.'

I ask you what difference there is between the actions of this company and those of a band of thieves, for its monopoly would force the whole nation, on pain of death by starvation, to pay the company a ransom equal to three times the value of the wheat it provides.

When you consider that the company, according to the rules of commercial freedom, has the right not to sell at any price, to leave the wheat rotting in its granaries while the people perish, can you believe that the starving nation is conscience bound to die of hunger for the sake of the fine philosophical principle of *laissez-faire*? Of course not. You must therefore agree that the right of commercial freedom should be subject to restrictions in accordance with the needs of society as a whole, and that any man possessing a superabundance of a commodity of which he is neither the producer nor the consumer must be regarded as a *conditional trustee*, not its absolute owner. And you must agree that the dealings of merchants and middlemen must be subordinated to the good of the mass of society, and not given free rein to impede the normal relations of exchange by their calamitous manoeuvres, which your economists so much admire.

Should merchants alone be exempt from the obligations to the body of society that are imposed on so many other and more worthy groups of people? When generals or judges or doctors are given freedom to act, this does not mean that they are authorised to betray the army, plunder the innocent or murder the sick. If they betray their trust in that way they are punished: treacherous generals go to the guillotine, whole courts are summoned before the Minister of Justice – only merchants are inviolable and assured of impunity! Political economy intends there to be absolutely no control over their machinations. Let them reduce a whole region to starvation or disrupt industry by cornering materials and by bankruptcies, it is all justifiable because they are *merchants*. It is like the quack doctor in the play who kills everybody with his pills but is able to justify himself by pronouncing the phrase *medicus sum*. And now,

in this century of regeneration, they are trying to persuade us that the conspiracies of the least enlightened group in society can never operate to the detriment of the state's welfare. Once upon a time it was the pope's infallibility that people tried to establish: now it is the infallibility of merchants.

2. *Hoarding of materials or commodities.* I am going to demonstrate the maleficence of this by means of an event unfolding before our eyes as I write. This is the huge rise in the price of colonial goods, sugar, coffee, cotton, etc. I shall be particularly concerned with cotton because that has suffered the largest price-rise and because it is the most urgent necessity of our new manufacturing industries, which have developed during the last few years as a result of the attention and encouragement of the emperor. What I shall say about the present situation is applicable to hoarding of all kinds.

In the course of last autumn, people began to realise that consignments of colonial goods, particularly cottons, were going to encounter difficulties, and that supplies would be delayed. There was no reason, at first, to fear that the factories of France would suffer as a result of this because there were sufficient stocks of cotton in the warehouses at that time to provide for a year's consumption (including purchases from abroad which were on their way to France). If the government had taken an inventory it could have made certain that the factories had enough supplies to last a year, during which time steps could have been taken to guard against future shortages. But the hoarders intervened, invaded and sealed off the existing supplies, and let it be known that the manufacturers would run out of materials in less than three months. Cotton then rose to twice its normal price, a rise that threatens to wipe out most of the French factories, which cannot raise the price of cloth in proportion to the price of raw cotton or cotton thread. As a result a large number of manufacturers have already given up and laid off their workers.

Yet there is no shortage of materials. On the contrary, the rich mill-owners have themselves become hoarders, and they have started to sell their surplus, their speculative cottons, gambling on them, after having kept back sufficient stocks for their own mills. In short, it is these shady speculators who own the surplus which the normal consumers are short of, and thus there is no lack of materials in France, and no threat of a lack: that is the truth of the matter.

In this situation, what has been the benefit of commercial licence and free competition? They have led to:

1. Doubling the price of a raw material of which there was no real shortage, and whose price should have risen very little or not at all.
2. Disruption of manufacturing that has been slowly and painfully established.
3. The enrichment of a coalition of dishonest speculators to the detriment of productive industry, and to the disgrace of the sovereign whom they offend by destroying his work.

These facts are unanswerable. The response to them will be that if the authorities hindered *free competition*, *the hoarders' licence*, things would be even worse. That may be so, but it merely proves that your economists know of no remedy against hoarding. Is this a reason not to look for one, and does it therefore follow that hoarding is beneficial? If you do not know an antidote to a social vice, at least have the courage to admit that the vice is a disaster, do not listen to your philosophers when they extol the vice to you in order to exculpate themselves from being unable to correct it. When they counsel you to tolerate speculation and hoarding lest some greater ill befall you, they are no better than an ignoramus who tells you to encourage fever because he does not know how to cure it.

Just because we do not know what to do to prevent hoarding, is it sensible to tolerate it endlessly, as we do at present? No. I shall prove that intervention by the authorities could frequently have prevented major misfortunes, without committing any violations or becoming despotic. Let us take an example from the present situation [1807].

Suppose that the government, in order to save the cotton manufacturers who have dealt such an important blow to England, had wanted to suppress the hoarders, and that the police had called on a Paris banker who in January had 5 millions' worth of cotton (purchase price) in store, which he was refusing to sell for 8 million because he wanted, very moderately, to double his capital in three months. The authorities could have told him, 'The accumulation of raw materials amassed by you and your accomplices threatens to ruin our factories to which you are refusing to sell at a fair profit. You are hereby ordered to hand over your stocks at a quarter or a

fifth profit instead of the twofold profit you intended. Your cottons will be distributed to *small-scale manufacturers* (and not to the large ones, who are themselves hoarders in league with each other to hold the small factories to ransom).'

What results would such a measure have?

Note first of all that there is nothing oppressive about it, as the hoarder would get 6 million after three months for stocks which cost him 5 million, a profit of 20 per cent in three months: this is four times as much as a landowner would obtain for a year's hard agricultural work.

And as a result of this demand, all the other hoarders who wanted to double their capital, and who have been successful in this, would have decided to sell their cottons at a profit of 20 per cent, and the factories would have suffered little or no hardship and would not have been forced, as they have been, to close workshops and dismiss workers. This act of authority would have saved the industry and benefited the government; it would not have delayed the sending of consignments from our allies, for since the Americans sent us cotton in 1807 in the hope of selling it at 100 écus per quintal, they would certainly have sent it for sale at 120 écus. It is thus clear that the authorities ought to intervene against hoarding, not in the way the Jacobins did, who ruined the owners by paying them in paper money, but by intervening to restrict profits when they degenerate into extortion.

So whenever there is the prospect of a shortage of any commodity, and the threat that this might encourage hoarding by speculators, it will be advisable to declare them *not for sale*, and to set a maximum profit by fixing it at a rate high enough to encourage consignments to be sent, such as a quarter or a fifth above the normal price. It should be forbidden for anyone except recognised customers or outlets to buy or trade in them, even indirectly, and each merchant's supply should be limited in proportion to his usual markets, which he would have to justify by his average sales over a number of years.

I shall not indicate the other provisional measures that should be taken to counter hoarding, as it would be unnecessary to explain them here, since societary competition or the commercial procedures of the sixth period *prevent* hoarding and other disruptions, rather than just *suppressing* them; but in the absence of these

preventive measures, it is unpardonable not to have attempted at least some palliative measures, such as *removing goods from sale*. That is what France ought to have done this winter with cotton, because the prosperity of our factories manufacturing cotton stuffs was about to deal a serious blow to the British East India Company and to the factories of England.

Having instead allowed the price of materials to rise to double the normal rate, have they increased the supply? No. Raw materials have quadrupled their value without this rise removing the obstacles standing in the way of consignments from abroad. All that the rise in price has achieved is the ruin of factories and customers, to the benefit of the hoarders. Yet in a time of crisis, when normal practices and regulations can be disregarded, whom is it more important to protect, the mass of customers and manufacturers, or a few birds of prey who have come together to disrupt industry by creating artificial fears and by buying up commodities for which the day before they had no outlets and no customers, and of which they have no knowledge?

How easy it would be to confound these speculators by using their own arguments against them! To believe them, we shall soon be short of everything: it will soon be impossible to obtain any commodities, even for their weight in gold. To this the authorities might reply, 'Either you believe that factories and customers can be supplied, or you do not. In either case you must be forced to sell your stocks, for if consignments from abroad are going to cease from now on, if the scarcity is going to be total, it would be pointless to protect your machinations, which are accelerating the collapse of industry by hindering its operation and holding it to ransom at a time of crisis. If, on the other hand, there are still ways of obtaining supplies from abroad or elsewhere, you are disruptive alarmists who are aggravating a temporary difficulty. Thus, whatever your opinion may be about the cessation or continuation of consignments from overseas, you deserve to be punished, and you ought to think yourselves fortunate that we are only banning you from commerce and putting your stocks up for sale, leaving you the enormous profit of a quarter more than the normal price.'

Taking this argument further, it would be easy for me to prove that it would be possible to restrict the hoarders' licence without interfering with commercial relations [and without leaving the arena

of civilised politics]: the necessity of this is recognised in relation to bread and the trade in wheat, which is an area in which all governments intervene. Everybody knows that if wheat speculators had complete freedom, and were able to form companies to put a down-payment on every harvest and put the grain in store, allowing none to circulate, there would be regular, progressive famines even in the years of greatest abundance. Even so, speculators have frequently succeeded in reducing a region to starvation, despite the dangers of the people's anger and of action on the part of the government, which at times of distress will open the grain stores and sell the wheat rather than allow the people to be driven to desperation. If speculators are already bold enough to risk these dangers, imagine what they would do if they had complete freedom and were assured of protection for their hoarding of grain.

You political writers, who compose theories about the duties of man, will you not admit that the social body also has duties, the first of which is to suppress the parasites who lay waste to industry and found their fortunes on the wounds that afflict their country? If you had had the courage to denounce this sort of corruption you would not still be trying to find the remedy for it (which is societary competition). Even antiquity, with all its absurdities, was wiser than us in the matter of commercial policy, because it openly condemned mercantile vices. In those days everybody execrated these industrial vultures, the hoarders and speculators whom modern philosophy deems worthy of praise, being the shameless apologist of every sort of corruption that leads to the accumulation of gold.

Robbery of the social body by speculation

Speculation is next-of-kin to hoarding. Both have won respectability to the extent that even sovereigns give way to them. They can directly attack all the operations of princes, who are so taken in by a few sophisms that they dare not even imagine resisting, or proposing a search for some other system of commerce.

Here is an example of the tyranny that speculation can exercise over sovereigns. I have chosen a contemporary one, the most recent escapade of the French speculators.

During the last war against Austria, an obscure mercantile conspiracy almost negated the victories at Ulm and Austerlitz. At the

moment when France was demonstrating the most complete confidence in the operations of the leader of its empire, the speculators were able to create the symptoms of universal distrust. It was as if Varro was in command of our armies. In the space of two months the schemers of Paris wrought unprecedented devastation on French industry. It took a torrent of miraculous and unexpected victories finally to muzzle the speculation that threatened to destroy all public credit, and one shudders to think what financial distress France would have suffered if it had only had a neutral campaign, with no successes or defeats.

The arguments of these alarmists were based on an advance which they said had been made by the Bank of France to initiate the campaign. They estimated the advance at 50 million, which is only 1 per cent of France's total territorial revenue; and although it may not have been guaranteed by the bank's capital or allotment from taxation, it was surely fully guaranteed in French eyes by confidence in the sovereign. How could men who feared neither heaven nor hell when they saw Napoleon at the head of his armies be afraid for an advance which amounted to a hundredth of the territorial revenue? Far from being afraid at the start of the campaign, the French willingly committed a portion of their capital, secure in the knowledge that their Emperor would be victorious, and without ever having the slightest doubt that this small loan would be repaid. Nonetheless, speculators were able to create the signs of general distrust and discredit the bank for fulfilling the wishes of all Frenchmen by supporting the efforts of their leader.

There is thus a power which takes as little notice of the influence of heroes as it does of the people's opinion: it is *speculation*, and it can control the whole industrial mechanism at will. It leaves empires at the mercy of a class of parasites who are neither owners nor manufacturers. They are only concerned for their wallets and, as they can change their country from one day to the next, their only interest is in disrupting every region and overturning each branch of industry in turn. And despite the fact that everybody knows that our economic theories sustain the scourges of speculation, hoarding, bankruptcy, etc., in their ceaseless laceration of industry and their contempt for sovereigns and the trust they inspire in their people — despite these outrages and all the others spawned by the system of commercial licence, no writer has had the courage to denounce this

absurd science of economics, to condemn the commercial mechanism as a whole and propose that we should seek a new procedure based on industrial, rather than commercial, relations. Everybody genuflects before the commercial vices they rail against in private, and everybody sings the praises of commerce instead of thinking of ways to shake off its yoke, because civilised man is too frightened to contemplate reforms which require a political inventiveness he thinks is beyond his powers.

The modern philosophers are, no doubt, secretly ashamed of the results of their mercantile system, but they allow matters to go from bad to worse out of pride, and continue to encourage the political pygmies, the speculators and hoarders, because they do not have the skill to control them. The public becomes used to trembling and bowing down at the mere name of commerce: such scandalous behaviour gives the lie to reason's claims to perfection. Political economy has dragged the modern empires into the mud. We were less degraded, and Civilisation was less contemptible, in the days before mercantile philosophy and economic science came into being.

Do you need more details to be convinced that these schemers, dignified by the name of speculators, are no more than modified Jacobins, their clubs now turned against industry? Like the Jacobin clubs, they tend to affiliate together in complete agreement to enflame any wound that industry suffers. Just as the Jacobins were adept at interposing themselves between the government and the people in order to play one side off against the other and thus control both, the mercantile swindlers make themselves mediators between government and industry in order to subordinate both to their intrigues, misleading everybody and outwitting them by means of a feigned solicitude for the needs of agriculture. Like the clubs, they have no legal authority but nonetheless manage to organise everything in their own interest. Pronouncements by the authorities in support of factories or agriculture are usually an expression of the secret wishes of the speculators. It is they who generally reap the reward of the support the government believes it is giving to honest industry. These commercial schemers, like the clubs, are highly skilled in dividing and defeating their rivals. The plan of attack is the same in both cases: both have secret commissions of enquiry to prepare the way for major strokes of political disruption; both hide their intentions beneath a mask of paternalism; in the

case of the Jacobins, the pretext was the propagation of knowledge; with the speculators, it is the more efficient circulation of goods or capital, but in both instances the true purpose is the opposite of these. Their methods of attack are also similar: the Jacobin clubs set up counter-conspiracies to their own, after the success of which they would arrest a thousand victims and put them to death, a process which they would repeat after their next conspiracy. The commercial schemers do likewise: they pretend there is some major difficulty, such as a scarcity of materials, which they have master-minded by hoarding the commodity in question, then they suddenly raise its price by some enormous amount, thus holding a thousand factories that need it to ransom, after which they go on to hoard some other commodity and ruin more factories and workshops.

So the Jacobins and the commercial swindlers have a single, shared tactic, both using simulated disasters for purposes of disruption and ruin. The clubs, which were leagues of poor speculators aiming to ruin the rich, and the hoarders, who form leagues of rich speculators in order to ruin the poor, reveal complete similarity in their methods. Both are Jacobins, the former rough, the latter bland and sophisticated. This similarity will seem even more convincing when I have explained how these disruptive elements will spread and increase in the fourth phase of Civilisation, into which we are now moving. There the proprietors will have become completely subjected to commerce, which it is almost impossible to differentiate from speculation as all rich merchants are more or less implicated in the conspiracies of speculation and hoarding, despite their appearance of grief at these scourges which they secretly support and participate in.

I have already mentioned that the political vices of a profession are not individual vices. The lawyer who swindles his clients, the speculator who robs society, are not personally to blame: the fault lies solely with Civilisation which spawns so many branches of maleficent industry, and with philosophy which has persuaded us that this corrupt Civilisation is man's social destiny, and that God has not invented any better way of organising human relations.

Robbery of the social body by commercial wastage

The vice I am about to speak of is not so scandalous as the preceding ones, but it is no less harmful.

In a century which has taken economy to the furthest extremes, such as replacing coffee with chicory juice, sugar with beet-juice, and making other savings which only serve to encourage fraud on the part of merchants and to annoy travellers who are unable to obtain good food at any price – in such a parsimonious century as this, why has nobody realised that the principal economy ought to be *economy of hands*, a reduction in the numbers of superfluous agents who are wasted in unproductive jobs like those of commerce?

I have pointed out that we customarily employ a hundred people on work that would scarcely need two or three if association existed, and that in the seventh period only twenty men will be needed to supply *the market* of a town where today a thousand peasants come to sell their goods. As far as the industrial mechanism is concerned we are as inexperienced as peoples who have not yet discovered the mill, and employ fifty labourers to pound the grain which we crush today with a single millstone. There is an alarming superfluity of agents everywhere, amounting on average to four times what is necessary in all commercial enterprises.

Since philosophy started preaching a love of trade, merchants have swarmed everywhere, even in the villages. Heads of families give up working on the land and become itinerant salesmen. Even if they have nothing to sell but a calf, they will waste whole days loitering about in markets and taverns. This abuse is particularly prevalent in wine-growing areas, but free competition has infinitely increased the number of merchants and commercial agents in all parts of the country. In big cities such as Paris there are as many as three thousand grocers, when three hundred would be enough to provide for normal needs. The same proliferation of agents has occurred in the market towns; a small town which today receives a hundred commercial travellers and a hundred pedlars in the course of the year saw perhaps fewer than ten in 1788, yet there was no shortage of food or clothing, at very moderate prices, even though there were only one-third as many merchants as there are now.

This multiplicity of rivals forces them to attempt to outdo each other in crazy measures that have disastrous consequences for the social body; for every superfluous agent robs society by consuming without producing anything. The monks were a case in point. It is well known that the monks in Spain, of whom there are reckoned to be 500,000, would produce enough food for two million people if they went back to agriculture, and the same is true of the

incalculable number of superfluous traders. When you understand the commercial system of the sixth period, *societary competition*, it will convince you that commerce can be carried on with a quarter the number of agents it employs today, and that in France alone a million inhabitants have been lured away from agriculture and manufacturing to join the crowds of agents created by free competition. Thus France alone annually suffers the loss of enough food for 4 million inhabitants, as a result of the mistaken ideas of the economists.

As well as the waste of productive labour, the present order causes further wastage of capital and of commodities. I cite as an example of this one of the commonest of current abuses, *cut-throat competition*.

For the last few years, merchants have talked of little else. Because there are too many of them, they are locked in a relentless struggle for sales, which become more difficult every day because of the huge number of competitors. A town that consumed a thousand barrels of sugar when it had ten merchants will still only consume a thousand barrels if the number of merchants increases to forty, which is what has happened in all the towns in France. So now you hear these swarms of merchants complaining that business is bad, when they should be complaining about the superabundance of traders. They wear themselves out enticing customers and competing for trade, and risk ridiculous sums of money for the pleasure of *wiping out* their rivals. It is a mistake to think that merchants are motivated solely by self-interest: they are also governed by a powerful sense of jealousy and pride. Some ruin themselves in pointless attempts to *build up a vast business*, others by their obsession with *wiping out* a neighbour whose success drives them to despair. Mercantile ambitions may be humble, but they are nonetheless intense; and if the trophies of Miltiades disturbed the sleep of Themistocles, so do the sales of one shopkeeper disturb the sleep of the shopkeeper next door. This is the source of the frenzied competitiveness which drives so many merchants to ruin or to ceaseless expenditure, which ultimately has to be borne by the customer, because all waste is paid for in the last instance by society as a whole. If a new commercial order (*societary competition*) can reduce the number of mercantile agents and the amount of commercial expenditure to a quarter of its present rate, you will find that the price of goods

diminishes proportionately. Production will then increase to cope with the increased demand stimulated by the lower prices, and as a result of the mass of labour and capital returned to agriculture because of the reduction in the number of commercial agents.

One abuse leads to another. This is as true of commerce as it is of government: for instance, the extravagance of agents causes speculation and bankruptcy. Striking proof of this was offered by the war between the stage-coach companies who would willingly have carried their passengers gratis in order to damage each other's business. As people watched them lower their rates in the attempt to wipe each other out, they said, '*Soon they will be paying us a premium to take us post.*' It is important to emphasise these details in order to demonstrate that the economists are grossly mistaken in thinking that self-interest is the only motive of traders. What sensible man could have conceived the idea, in cold blood, of carrying passengers post from Paris to Rennes for 18 livres tournois. This is the kind of madness produced by the obsession with *wiping out* competitors. The result of these onslaughts, which were entertaining for the travellers, was the bankruptcy of the various protagonists, who *wiped each other out* in the space of a few months. Their bankruptcy was borne by the public, who always become involved in the craziest schemes; but despite their failure it was the bankrupts who profited in the end, because their fellow-investors never recovered their money. That is why merchants, who can always take refuge in bankruptcy if things go badly, are ready to risk everything to get rid of a rival and glory in a neighbour's misfortune. In this they are like those Japanese who put out one of their own eyes in front of their enemy's door, so that the law will put out both of his.

The long-established commercial firms, perturbed by these wars of extermination, refuse to have anything further to do with a profession that has been rendered dangerous and debased by the intrigues of these newcomers, who often sell at a loss^c in order to

^c I should explain the phrase sell at a loss. A trader often makes a loss when he sells for a profit of 10 or 15 per cent, as his total expenses, set against his total sales, make it necessary for him to get a profit of 25 per cent in order to achieve a net profit of 10 per cent on his capital. But if competition restricts his rate to 15 per cent, he will have hardly any profit at the end of the year, and he will have lost the interest on his capital and the reward for his labours and the risks he has taken. This is what happens in honest commerce like the trade in consumables,

attract custom. The traders who do not want to make a loss find themselves abandoned, deprived of customers, and unable to fulfil their commitments. Soon both of them find their resources at an end, and they are obliged to go cap in hand to the speculator, whose usurious aid increases their difficulties and their insolvency, and precipitates their collapse.

Thus free competition, by provoking bankruptcies, fuels speculation and encourages the vast expansion of it that we have noted. Speculators become established even in small market towns. You come across men everywhere who claim to be bankers, but whose only profession is lending out money at interest¹ and encouraging the wars of competition. By their loans they sustain a host of superfluous traders who embark on the most ridiculous speculations, and then, when they fail, go to the bankers for help and get held to ransom by them. The bankers, with their position in the mercantile arena being to stir up conflict, are like the Arab hordes who hover around armies, gloating at the expectation of the ruin of defeated friends or foes.

The spectacle of so much brigandage and absurdity spawned by commerce can leave us in no doubt that the ancients were wiser than us when they treated it with contempt. As for the moderns

where the profits, unlike with hoarding, are never large. And that is why you so often see honest traders getting nowhere, hardly able to keep going, after they have been in business for some years, as a result of the excessive competition which does not allow anybody a return proportionate to their outlay.

¹ It is hard to believe the number of usurers there are in France today. They began to appear along the Rhine, where the Jews took over a large portion of the great properties through usury. The scandal is less noticeable in the interior of the country, because there usury is practised by the indigenous inhabitants. The only lucrative job these days, apart from hoarding and speculation, is pawnbroking, lending on mortgages and trading in the bills and bonds of borrowers. Cunning operators leave commerce in order to practise this pleasant profession, which the Revolution has encouraged by its dissolution of properties.

I am not arguing that the usurers are to blame. All forms of political corruption are the product of circumstances, not of the citizens who profit from them. But it is fortunate in this situation that the Jews are not yet widely settled in France, as this nation is particularly addicted to usury, and would already have taken over most of the large properties, and the influence which goes with them. France would be no more than a vacant synagogue, for if the Jews possessed just a quarter of the great properties their influence would be immense, because of their secret and indissoluble brotherhood. This danger is one of the thousand symptoms which bear witness to social degeneration, the defectiveness of the industrial system, and the need to reconstruct the whole of society on a new model, if Civilisation continues any longer, which God grant will not happen.

who construct theories in its praise, they are nothing but shameless charlatans. There can be no hope of seeing the triumph of truth or good order in the industrial mechanism until they condemn the commercial system and discover a mode of exchange which is less oppressive and less degrading for the body of society.

Conclusions on commerce

In the preceding four sections I have established that commerce, although appearing to serve industry, in fact aims to rob it in many different ways, and I have cited the four instances of bankruptcy, hoarding, speculation and waste.

1. Bankruptcy robs the social body and benefits merchants, who never have to bear the cost. If a trader is prudent he calculates the risk of bankruptcy and fixes his profit at a rate that will cover any anticipated losses. If he is not prudent, or if he is dishonest (the two qualities are quite close in commercial affairs), he will lose no time in declaring himself bankrupt, using the indemnity thus provided as protection against the cost of twenty other failures. Whence it follows that the damage done by bankruptcy has to be borne by the whole body of society, and not by the traders themselves.
2. Hoarding robs the social body because the rise in the price of hoarded materials is ultimately borne by the consumer. The costs fall initially on the manufacturers, though, who have a factory to maintain, and who make financial sacrifices, manufacture their output at a reduced profit, keep on the establishment on which their normal existence is based, in the hope of better days to come, and end up belatedly passing on the price rise that the hoarder so promptly subjected them to in the first place.
3. Speculation robs the social body by diverting capital sums into warring with each other in a rigged market, and provides the ablest players with enormous profits. As a result, farms and factories can only obtain the capital needed for their development by paying an exorbitant rate, and constructive enterprises, which only slowly and painfully yield a profit, are scorned in favour of speculation, which absorbs the greater part of the currency.

4. Waste or superfluity of agents robs the social body in two ways, either by removing an enormous number of hands and employing them in unproductive labour, or by the immorality and disorder caused by the bitter struggle of these countless merchants whose dishonesty sometimes creates impediments equivalent to a prohibition.⁶

These examples should be adequate, I think, to demonstrate that free competition has only worsened industrial relations, not only in commerce but in all the mechanical and liberal professions to which its influence has spread. For example:

In less than ten years this anarchic competition has almost annihilated the great theatres of France. The second city of the empire can no longer support its theatre, and from next year there will be nothing but makeshift melodramas and travelling players. Soon foreigners arriving in our great cities and seeing nothing but scenes of literary vandalism will wonder what revolution has banished the French theatre from its own country. They will be told that it was sacrificed by economists, following the example of Robespierre, who said, 'Let the colonies perish for the sake of a principle.' The economists similarly have said, 'Let lyric and dramatic art perish for the sake of the principle of anarchic competition.'

⁶ There are thousands of proofs of this, but I shall cite just one, the situation when the dishonesty of Russian and Chinese merchants reached such a peak that it temporarily severed trade between the warehouses of Khyakhta and Starotsurukhaytuy. 'The Russians', says Raynal, 'sent the Chinese false furs, the Chinese gave the Russians counterfeit ingots (prime examples of both merchants and civilisation). Mistrust increased so far that trade between them dropped off, and has been reduced to almost nothing for some time now', although there has been no relaxation of demand, and the respective sovereigns have encouraged rather than hindered the caravans.

This impediment only came to light because it had repercussions on a broad range of affairs. In this case a branch of commerce declined without any restrictions being placed upon it, solely as a result of dishonest trading. How often does this sort of dishonesty cause similar obstacles to trade? It causes endless expense, work, worry and wasted time to everybody who buys goods without being aware of their true worth. And if after costly precautions, journeys, etc., people are still misled all the time in their purchases, imagine the saving in time and money if exchange operated honestly throughout the world. This will be the case in the seventh period, and even in the sixth it will be rare to find cases of deceit in commercial transactions.

They did not set out with this intention in mind, of course, but they have acted as if they did, and they have taken no preventative measures to avert the blow that free competition was bound to deliver to our great theatres.⁴

⁴ Despite their current difficulties, the theatres are still one of the more pleasing aspects of civilisation. All of them are doing everything they can to plan their resurgence, but these plans evince all the usual small-mindedness of civilised men, who can only counter their misfortunes with half-measures that are worse than the original problems.

It is not very important to understand how the theatres might be restored, as civilisation is drawing to its close, and the combined order will produce actors in every canton of the globe who will be as fine as the most famous players in our capital cities.

But, restricting ourselves to civilisation, it would still be very easy for everyone to procure their favourite entertainment in each city, by which I mean a good company in each genre; to have Lekains and Moles by the thousand, so as to be able to put together companies as good as those in Paris in all towns of twelve to fifteen thousand inhabitants. The method is easy, consisting of training actors in special schools rather than waiting for them to be produced at random or for manna to fall from heaven, and adopting the principle that *'God helps those who help themselves.'*

A well-ordered system of public education should be extended to all professions that are recognised as useful. And in the current state of luxury, drama is the least dangerous recreation, in fact is a form of protection against the various excesses into which the wealthy may be tempted: good actors are therefore eminently useful, and the foundation of lyric and dramatic universities is all the more urgent since bad actors are one of the seeds of depravity in society. They only attract people to their shows for reasons foreign to love of art. Their audience is entirely composed of habitués who are only concerned with flirtation, and care nothing about the spread of bad taste. They debase masterpieces and their authors by caricaturing and rendering ridiculous every play they put on. In fact they are the scourge of morals, taste and the literary glories of the nation. It may be concluded from this that it would either be better not to have any theatres at all, and provide other forms of entertainment for people, which has become impossible, or else to take steps to raise theatrical standards by forming schools for actors, as for all other professionals. Consequently every town ought to establish a conservatory of the three theatrical faculties: declamation, song and dance. These conservatories would pull together and develop the scattered talents to be found in any crowd of poor children or young people. The Paris school will not train the children of Brussels or Marseilles, so schools must be established wherever appropriate to develop the seeds of talent that nature has sown in the towns and villages, and educate those who are obviously destined for the stage in dramatic and lyric art. They will practise in the principal theatre of their town, which will thereby increase its reputation at no expense. They should be encouraged by means of monetary prizes, as a result of which fathers of poor families will make an effort to encourage their children's artistic leanings, rather than stifling them at an early age.

Our towns are teeming with children who have been prevented from following their natural bent, and whose parents could then send them to the conservatory

in the hope of seeing them appointed to a well-paid job in a theatre. If it was properly organised, such a conservatory could before long provide a host of distinguished actors. They would soon be as abundant as today's untrained tumblers and players who have entered the profession by chance, and who drive enlightened drama-lovers away from the theatre they debase. The drama will never attain the excellence of which it is capable until it is played by properly trained actors whose style is modelled on the principles of the school in which they have been trained.

Art will then cease to be overwhelmed by the tyranny of fashion. Actors, singers and dancers will no longer abuse their popularity by erecting their whims into rules. The traditions of rival schools will become a means of using every aspect of talent and discouraging the uncontrolled innovations that artists mistake for signs of genius. Performances will then have achieved a degree of perfection that will enable them to start influencing morals for the better and encouraging a general tendency towards the arts. The abundance of good actors and the modest cost of their services will stimulate authors to write good plays which will be as lucrative for them as they are currently unrewarding.

The position of actors will then acquire the renown that belongs to real talents and the occasions at which they are displayed. Is it surprising that the profession today is degraded by catcalls? A stage full of bad actors repels enlightened and sophisticated people, attracting instead the majority of its audience from the ignorant masses. Such an audience can exercise no critical judgement, only a degrading despotism, and proclaims its response with a crudeness in keeping with the worth of the players. What right do most of the present actors have to be received indulgently? A few of them may deserve applause, but the majority of them have no qualification for the profession apart from boldness. They gain their experience at the expense of some poor town where they go through their first performances, and all they bring to the next town is the art of surviving the impact of three débuts and reducing the groundlings to silence at the end of a fortnight out of sheer boredom. It is not surprising that the profession has become degraded, and that so many families despise it when they could make it the object of profitable speculation. There are few jobs more lucrative than a good actor's. Indeed there are plenty of indifferent actors whose income is twice that of the military and civil leaders of a province. That is why it is impossible to maintain good theatres in the provinces, because actors, even quite ordinary ones, are now so rare and so demanding that a city of a hundred thousand inhabitants can only afford a small theatre for popular farces and dramatic monstrosities.

This disorganisation affects France more severely than other countries like Italy or Germany because it does not possess the same variety of courts, all wanting to embellish their residences by attracting and encouraging artists, to whom they offer both respect and fortune. Our great cities cannot emulate this, their entirely commercial population, with their bourgeois attitudes, does not provide any support or offer any attractions to artists. Outside Paris, the whole of France is a place of exile and obscurity for genius and the arts; our cities of a hundred thousand inhabitants compare very badly with small German towns like Weimar and Gotha. The arts and sciences flourish in those minor capitals under the auspices of the generous patrons who govern them. The cities of France, in contrast, are more barbarous than civilised when you set them alongside those of Germany and Italy. There the muses dwell in palaces, in France they can hardly afford a thatched cottage. Everything outside Paris is a village as far as the arts and sciences are concerned. Go into the museum at Lyons and you will find its displays inferior to those of a travelling salesman. Go into the library at Lyons and you will find hardly any

books, and almost no good modern works at all. Look at the botanic garden in Lyons, bare of any ornamentation and disfigured by three crude huts: you would think it was the garden of poor Capuchins. Are these appropriate monuments for the second city of the greatest empire, for the city that furnishes luxuries for the four corners of the globe? Once again I say all France is concentrated in Paris. The scholars and thinkers who live there are animated by a spirit of jealousy, and take a delight in seeing the degradation of our large cities, for which they never propose a single benevolent measure.

By their desire to denigrate everywhere else in order to make Paris shine more brightly, by their eagerness for the small streams that should feed the great river to dry up, they have succeeded in impoverishing the capital. To speak only of the theatre, this city which is so well provided with everything that talent can create, which ought to be extending its excellence to the provinces, is itself in dire straits. The theatre can only sustain itself by undermining the theatres in the provinces, requisitioning every actor who attracts their attention, and where it has been prudent enough to provide the provinces with establishments that adorn their reputation, its work is negated by the flood of artists into the capital to display their talents and supply its inhabitants with new pleasures every day. Paris owes its best actors to distant provinces. Consider how many there would be if new schools were able to foster the seeds of talent that nature scatters everywhere and which could be sought out in the smallest villages as well as in the small towns.

In order to maintain its place in the arts and literature, and thus bear comparison with the towns of Germany and Italy that are lucky enough to have resident sovereigns, France must (assuming that civilisation lasts long enough) put its major cities on the same footing as court towns, and ensure them as far as possible the advantages of a royal seat, which they are deprived of by the good fortune of having a united empire.

To achieve this the State will have to expend money on giving these cities a semblance of grandeur. There should be a museum, with copies of all the best paintings in the Paris collection, a library furnished with all the good books that are in the Paris library, reprinted if need be, and they must be generously endowed with scientific and artistic foundations such as botanic gardens, physical and natural history laboratories, national theatres and all the other establishments proper to a town where a royal court sets up its residence.

If France had twenty kings beneath one emperor, they would give their twenty capitals the kind of lustre that I have depicted; and as the unity of the country saves us the expenses such a federal organisation would entail, it is not beyond our means to compensate those towns by ensuring that they at least possess the useful foundations they would obtain by the presence of a court, and set them on a level with the regional capitals which are our rivals in the sciences, in art and in literature.

Justice and national pride counsel these arrangements, but they would not be welcomed by the scholars and thinkers of France. Their *esprit de corps* restricts their enthusiasm to the city where they are all gathered. Paris is the only place they care about, and it is one of the pleasures of this fine city to laugh at the provinces it has systematically debased. Paris is like those dreadful flower-growers who, whenever they see a tulip or a hyacinth equal to one of their own, buy it, uproot it and destroy it. Paris is to France what the Dutch are to the Moluccas, where every year they go and cut down and destroy the clove and nutmeg trees so that there are none left outside Ambon and Banda Besar. It is surprising, in fact, that Paris has allowed the famous university at Montpellier to continue when

its European reputation is so high and so far removed from the ridicule that Paris likes to heap on the French provinces. For an idea of what they would be capable of if the sciences and arts were encouraged, think what Geneva was like when it was self-governing, it was second only to Paris as a centre of learning. (I am only talking about French-speaking cities.) It might have held an equally high place as a centre for the arts if its sanctimonious morality had permitted them. At that period our great cities like Lyons, Marseilles, Bordeaux and Nantes were almost devoid of artistic and scientific culture, which only flourish under the eye of sovereign authority, or in cities which offer them the means to develop.

Yet why pity the French provinces? These have such a servile character that they feel honoured whenever an artist or a monument is carried off to Paris to adorn the capital that disparages them. Like the ancient Muslims who were proud to die at the order of His Highness, the great cities of France chorus to the Parisians:

‘You do us great honour, my lords,
By crushing us.’

Nobody in Lyons, Bordeaux, Marseilles or Nantes has ever expressed any regret at this poverty and inferiority in the sciences, arts and theatre. Nobody has ever proposed a plan by which these cities might share in the glory the capital enjoys.

There is some consolation in noting that Paris has inflicted a degree of punishment on itself by the degradation in which it has left the provinces. To speak only of the lyric and dramatic arts, how many authors suffer from the despotism of that city? Their compositions are submitted to backstage tribunals from whose judgment there is no appeal, or else jeered at from the pit because all the tickets have been sold to their rivals. They suffer the misfortune of being unable to find a single city in the vast empire of France where their work can be given a second chance, a city where the arts are strong and sustained by a good theatre, a city whose opinion might carry weight against those of Paris and invalidate its decrees, which are so often entirely unjust.

This is only one of the many difficulties afflicting artists and thinkers as a punishment for having encouraged the impoverishment of the provinces. But it is right that they should have to suffer these annoyances for having wanted to inflict them on others, and for not having applied the principles of competition they make so much fuss about to Paris.

Huge numbers of nascent talents are stifled by the despotism the capital exercises over critical opinion, and by the countless humiliations they have to overcome in that city which is the only arena in which they can develop and acquire a reputation. Sacchini is said to have died of shame after his *Oedipus*, the greatest French opera, was greeted with catcalls, which provides an indication of the number of good authors who have been disheartened by the tyrannical backstage cabals of Paris. There can be no doubt that the capital stifles competition and deprives France of a host of excellent artists who would achieve eminence if the competition of other cities sheltered them from the tyranny of Paris, and enabled their works to have a fair hearing.

Having made the mistake of not establishing universities of lyric and drama, they turn out endless jeremiads about the decadence of literature and the theatre, etc., the explanation for which lies entirely in the absence of any establishments that could enable our great cities to rival the capital by developing the talents which at the moment it is deprived of. If such foundations are opposed out of motives of jealousy or sordid economy, you should stop complaining about literary and

All the professions have been disrupted to a greater or lesser extent by the system of licence extended to commerce, as witness medicine and the bar. In the years since absolute freedom was instituted, charlatans have roamed the countryside causing the death of hundreds of gullible villagers *protected by the principle of allowing competition free reign*. Lawyers, too, have adopted the noble customs of commerce and started *touting for practice*, stopping country folk in public squares and on the steps of the law-courts and trying to solicit their custom. This prostitution of a previously honourable calling aroused public feeling to such an extent that restrictive measures, like the reform of the legal register, had to be introduced, in contradiction of the principles of free competition.

This freedom, like political freedom, has been acted on thoughtlessly, with no understanding of where these fine philosophical theories might lead. Now people are beginning to see the error of this, but in trying to remedy it they are making even worse mistakes, such as confusing the interests of commerce with those of its natural enemy, manufacture. It will be a long time before the moderns start to be suspicious of their idol and realise that the whole commercial system, which is a collection of all the vices, needs to be changed.

Some might retort that I would do better to announce the remedy for these vices than to hold forth about them, and that I ought to hurry up and produce the theory of *societary competition* which can root out all these mercantile disorders.

My reply to that is that my intention is not to ameliorate Civilisation but to confound it and to make people want to discover a better social mechanism, by demonstrating that Civilisation is absurd in all its elements and as a whole and that, far from perfecting reason, the moderns are plunging deeper and deeper into political insanity, as witness their most recent fantasies such as fra-

theatrical decadence. The only response to your complaints will be that it is quite right that an empire be lacking in talent if it refuses to cultivate it, in the same way that it is right for a miser who refuses to contribute towards the cost of the sowing to receive none of the harvest, not a single seed of which was his. By neglecting to found conservatories to undertake the general exploitation of children's many talents, you are acting like that miser; this failure has left you poor, despite being surrounded by the riches nature has sown wherever you look. Like savages who possess a gold mine, you have to make do with the grains of gold dust washed down by the stream.

ternity and the commercial spirit, against which reason and nature both rebel.

Nature is never wrong in the general impulses it gives to the human race. When the great majority of people despise a profession like commerce, and when this feeling is dictated by natural instinct, you may be sure that the object of their contempt has some odious hidden quality.

Who is more sensible, for heaven's sake, the moderns who respect commerce or the ancients who condemned merchants to general contempt? *Vendentes et latrones* says the Gospel, drawing no distinction between the two. This was Jesus Christ's thinking, when he armed himself with a scourge and drove out the merchants, and told them with all the candour of the Gospel, '*You have made my house into a house of thieves.*'

Fecistis eam speluncam latronum.

Like Christ, antiquity treated merchants and thieves as the same, placing them both under the protection of the god Mercury. In that period it seems that being a merchant was close to disgrace, for St Chrysostom assures us that no merchant can be pleasing to God. In consequence, merchants have been excluded from the kingdom of heaven, although the elect of all professions have been admitted, even, in the person of St Yves, a lawyer.

I cite these details to establish the opinion of the ancients, which I want to set beside that of the moderns. I do not by any means approve the extremism of the ancients: it is as absurd to proscribe and ridicule merchants as it is to praise them to the skies. But which extreme is the less absurd? In my view, it is that of the ancients.

If it is true that modern philosophy is a friend of truth, how has it managed to lend its support to merchants, when they are the most deceitful element in the whole of society? Judge this for yourselves from the way they are described today, when they are so much in favour.

'The Armenians' (says Monsieur Peuchet in his dictionary of commercial geography)⁶ 'are active and profound dissemblers; they will stoop to anything, their manner is as false as it is persuasive,

⁶ Jacques Peuchet, *Dictionnaire universel de la géographie commerciale* (Paris, 1799-1800).

and they will use every means that fraud and artifice can suggest in a despotic society; they will stop at nothing to get what they want, including humiliation and perjury; even religion becomes one more tool in their hands with which to cement their fraudulent interests. In Russia they adopt the Orthodox rite, in Persia they follow Islam, etc., etc.'

These few lines are enough to give us an idea of commercial ethics and the healthy influence they can have over the social order when they have sufficient power. Our merchants today can lay claim to the finest traits of the Armenian character. The rich traders, admittedly, do not share these unpleasant characteristics, because it is easy to be honourable on 100 thousand écus. But it is no less true that the commercial spirit corrupts people's politics and morals. Carthage and England are sufficient proof of that: the treachery of the politics of *Punica fides* has become proverbial; as for the mercantile character, only to be seen in its natural state among the lower classes, I shall take the example of the Jews, described in the *London Bulletin* as follows. 'Two thousand five hundred Jews who roam the streets and public places, inciting sons to rob their fathers and servants to rob their masters, and who pay for the stolen goods in base coin.'

Yet despite so much commercial depravity, which must outrage any honest soul, and despite the evidence of reasoned analysis of commercial activities, which reveals their parasitic, subordinate and disruptive interventions,¹ commerce has risen to a position of the

¹ Let us take a closer look at the worthlessness of merchants and the importance of the manufacturers whose interests the philosophers want to treat as one. The managers of factories could easily take over the merchants' activities; they could buy their raw materials direct, deliver the finished products straight to their customers, or send out their clerks to deal with sales and distribution. The merchants, on the other hand, cannot replace the manufacturers, nor manufacture goods in their absence.

If a city loses its merchants, as happened in Marseilles during the plague, new merchants soon appear, however uncondusive the situation may be to commerce. But if a city loses its manufacturers, as has happened at Louvain, you do not find new manufacturers moving their workshops there. There will always be plenty of merchants wherever there is the opportunity to trade freely and profitably. Factories are only set up in places where the whole situation favours them and where they are certain to be successful. The departure of manufacturers from a region would put all the suppliers of materials and commission agents, who depend on the factories, out of work, whereas the departure of all the merchants would not bring the factories to a standstill, because the managers and clerks could take the merchants' place.

highest authority in the opinions of the moderns. This was bound to be the case, as Civilisation is essentially favourable to treachery. The influence of commerce is leading it towards an even more unpleasant and treacherous industrial system, the seeds of which I shall indicate.

I realise my criticisms may seem misplaced, even outrageous, until such time as I have explained the mechanism that can replace commerce, and institute the reign of truth and order in the place of commerce's treachery and absurdity. In the mean time I denounce the cowardice of the writers and thinkers who have not dared to devote themselves to the search for it, and who dare to call themselves friends of truth while acting as apologists for commerce.

In the absence of any such initiative on the part of the writers, some administrators have tried to introduce remedies for commercial anarchy, but they have merely gone from Charybdis to Scylla: the fixed number of masters by which anarchy is to be replaced is worse than no remedy at all. After the Jacobin clubs, this is the most dangerous leaven of revolution that could be introduced into Civilisation.

Decadence of the civilised order as a result of the limited entry to the professions, leading to the fourth phase

I shall deal here only with the most essential matter, *the right to work*. I have no desire to start an argument about those re-hashed

Thus when the French Protestants emigrated to Germany, their place was not taken by catholic manufacturers, and industry went abroad with them. But if Louis XIV had only proscribed merchants and bankers, and allowed manufacturers to stay, within a year there would have been enough new catholic merchants to take the place of all the protestant ones, France would only have sustained a loss of manpower and money, which can be replaced, instead of the loss of industry, which is irreparable. All the powers today are eager to establish mercantile bases in the Orient, whereas none of them is trying to set up European manufacture there. On the contrary, they would like to attract Chinese and Indian industry to Europe without being in the least worried about attracting merchants and seafarers from those countries. The further we take this parallel, the more convincing the argument becomes that merchants and bankers need to be closely watched, and restricted to the useful functions I described above. If they are given complete licence, as the economists recommend, they use their capital to attack industry, in imitation of undisciplined soldiers who, released from the fear of punishment, immediately start pillaging their own country instead of keeping order there.

Greek day-dreams about the rights of man, which have become so ridiculous. After the revolutions that they caused, we are now heading for more troubles because we have forgotten the chief and only useful right among them, the right to work. Our politicians have never even mentioned it, which is entirely in keeping with their habit of omitting all the most important questions in every branch of knowledge.

There are numerous infractions of this right: I shall cite one, the case of the chartered companies who control an area of work and block the path of new applicants and deny them conditional entry.

The influence of these companies does not become a danger or bring about revolution except insofar as their rules extend to the whole commercial body. This new development requires some investigation, as it will become established more easily if we are not forewarned about its consequences.

The greatest evils often spring from imperceptible origins, as witness Jacobinism. Clubs did exist before the French Revolution: many of their members were men of great integrity, and nobody could have suspected that such groupings harboured the seeds of a greater tyranny than that of Nero and Tiberius, which only affected the great and the factious in the capital, whereas the persecution of the clubs extended right down to the poorest citizens and the obscurest hamlets.

And if Civilisation took twenty-five centuries to engender that calamity, might it not produce others which cannot be foreseen? The most imminent of these would be *commercial feudalism*, in which commerce would be the exclusive province of a league of chartered companies.

Extremes meet, and the more commercial anarchy has grown, the greater has been the tendency towards universal privilege, which is the opposite extreme. It is the fate of Civilisation to be constantly swinging from one extreme to another, unable to settle for the happy medium.

Several circumstances tend to encourage traders to unite, and organise themselves into federal companies, into groupings of monopolists who, with the support of the great landowners, could reduce all those below them to commercial vassalage, and achieve control over the whole of production by their combined intrigues. The small landowner would then be forced *indirectly* to dispose of

his harvests in a way that met with the monopolists' agreement; he would in fact have become an agricultural agent of the commercial coalition. The final result of this would be the renaissance of an inverse feudalism, founded on mercantile leagues rather than leagues of nobles.

Everything conspires to prepare the way for this outcome: the spirit of speculation grips the great; the old nobility, ruined and dispossessed, seeks distraction in the intrigues of trade; the descendants of the old knights have an excellent knowledge of prices and the frauds of the Stock Exchange, just as their ancestors excelled in tournaments. Public opinion bows down before the people they call *businessmen*, who have as much authority in the capital cities as ministers, and every day are discovering new means of taking over some branch of industry or other. Under their influence, government – without intending to – begins to take possession of commerce as they seize it bit by bit and long to take it over entirely by a general process of farmage. For all the fine promises to guarantee the freedom of commerce now begin to look like the vows of our notorious republicans who, all the time they were swearing mortal hatred of royalty, really wanted to ascend the throne themselves.

We are therefore moving very rapidly towards *commercial feudalism* and the *4th phase of Civilisation*. Writers and thinkers, used to revering everything that comes in the name of commerce or for the good of commerce, will observe the creation of the new order without any qualms and devote their trite pens to apologetics on its behalf. Its appearance will be welcomed on all sides, as were the clubs, and it will lead to the *industrial inquisition*, and the subjection of all citizens to the intrigues of the united monopoly.

(If you want to know how to escape this scourge, you can consult the note below, which will be of little interest except to merchants.)

Proportional access to professions or The middle way between free competition and commercial farmage.

This would be a debate of the greatest importance if civilisation were to continue even for another ten years. But as that misfortune is unlikely to happen, it will be enough merely to touch on the question, and show that commerce is in danger of being subjected to farmage because of the need to remedy its increasing anarchy.

Although it is necessary to reduce the numbers of every sort of commercial agent, it would be equally cruel to exclude them all at a stroke by limiting access to professional positions. What could be more unjust than to hand over a branch of industry to a league of hoarders who for a paltry price would obtain the right to exclude, incarcerate or impoverish their competitors? To allow such a regime

would be to reproduce in all its detail the English system of monopoly that has been so bitterly criticised.

Exclusive leagues of this sort have only taken over relatively unimportant jobs up to now, existing only among artisans and the subordinate agents of commerce known as brokers or exchange agents. This is why they have not caught the attention of observers and why nobody attaches any importance to the equity or inequity of their rules.

These leagues have made use of their obscurity to make a rapid assault on chartered status, which they have obtained very cheaply, at a third or a quarter of its value. They also took careful steps to ensure that the price put on the concession was not so high as to invalidate their derisory offers.

They cloak their encroachment under various plausible motives, talking about the certain disruption that would follow if unlimited applicants were allowed to enter their trade. These disruptions, which I have described under the heading of *anarchic competition*, are no reason to go from a bad situation to a worse one, from licence to persecution. The need is to find a middle way between uncontrolled admission and an exclusive league. This I shall now describe: the calculation involved is child's play, requiring no special understanding, only the kind of fair-minded outlook which economists almost never have.

The procedure I call *progressive finance* has to proceed by taking regular soundings. It consists in demanding an interest-free surety and a licence from everybody engaged in industry, particularly unproductive workers such as merchants. Both the surety and the licence will increase from year to year, as in the table below.

1807	
Surety	3,000 livres
Licence	300 livres
1808	
Surety	4,000 livres
Licence	400 livres
1809	
Surety	5,000 livres
Licence	500 livres

i.e. a payment each year of 1,000 livres more than the original payment, independent of the increasing licence cost.

Payment continues at this rate until there is a fall in the number of agents and the number entering the job is equal to the number leaving through death or retirement. At this point the surety and the licence will have reached equilibrium, where they remain fixed until new circumstances, such as peace or war, diminish or augment the industry's field of operation, when progressive finance follows the new impetus by rising or falling in relation to the rapid increase or decrease in the number of applicants, who must never be excluded as long as they meet the required conditions of entry.

Applied to commerce, this measure will rapidly raise association to the highest level, because the annual rise in surety and licence payments, and that alone, will lead merchants to forget their jealousies and form associations of ten, twelve or fifteen companies so that they only need to make a single payment.

As soon as one of these large associations is formed the scale of its savings and the size of its resources will force all the isolated companies to come together in similar associations, to alleviate the burden of surety payments and the struggle of

keeping up with them as individuals, which would obviously lead to ruin in the long run, as anybody who tried to carry on in isolation would be refused credit.

Once these large groupings have been established, the government can begin the operations (*joint liability, supplementary payments, etc.*) which will result in *mutual competition*, and put an end to bankruptcy, speculation, hoarding, waste, etc. I shall not go into these measures now, merely observing that progressive finance, which is only the prelude to the establishment of good commercial order, attains three important ends:

1. It reduces the number of agents, without violent measures, without personal exclusion and without oppressive privilege.
2. It creates association, which is the basis of all economics and of everything desirable in a commercial system.
3. It assures the revenue of the proportional taxation of those professions which it cannot easily reach, such as commerce, the bar and medicine, which in the present order have ways of evading public charges and defaulting on their financial obligations.

All other measures apart from progressive finance lead to arbitrary action or confusion, which damages government and industry alike and sanctions conflict between the privileged and the persecuted. The latter, driven to despair by the exclusion that condemns them to poverty, wear themselves out in ruses to avoid the ban on working and in resisting the oppression of companies that want to crush them, without allowing them any hope of being admitted into a job.

All limited-entry leagues do away with wage competition and emulation. This can be seen in the recent example of the lawyers who were sufficiently numerous for emulation to bring the price of their services down to a moderate level. In fact the opposite happened. They formed an agreement among themselves to raise their charges to such an oppressive rate that the government had to suppress them by means of a tariff. But even if the tariff had been successful, which it was not, fixing salaries in that way would not have encouraged competitive emulation, because any league of limited numbers, recognising that the public needs to use their services, obtains its profit by annoying them and only exercising its profession in comfort, with no rivals to contend with. Try to establish a fixed number of stevedores in the docks and you will soon see them forming coalitions to control commerce and hold the merchants to ransom. That is why merchants fear nothing so much as exclusive leagues among their servants, and why all traders employ non-titulary members of the profession as brokers and exchange agents. They know that without their competition the possessors of exclusive charters would soon become indolent and fussy to the point where they neglected the unrewarding side of their work and only took on simple and lucrative dealings, so that in the end the merchants themselves would have to do all the things they did not like doing. Besides it is very maladroit of the merchants, the freest group in society, to have voluntarily placed themselves under the control of their brokers, who can denounce a merchant and have him punished if he makes use of someone else's services. It is a comical arrangement that sets the servant above the master. If the merchants had a modicum of self-respect, they would band together to exclude this oppressive agency until it undertook to moderate its privileges, which are utterly contrary to good sense and fairness.

Out of the many abuses spawned by exclusive leagues, I want to cite just one, which is the way exclusion in the long run hits all the candidates most worthy of admission.

Suppose that a charter limits the number of doctors in a town to thirty, and that Boerhaave, who is still young, presents himself when the corporate league is already complete. Boerhaave will be permanently excluded from practising medicine, for the following reasons.

First of all, he will wait patiently until one of the places falls vacant. The moment arrives, but do not think his talent will be enough to ensure his admission. The vacant place will be given to some relative or associate of the group, or to some cunning adventurer who gets to the minister's office a day before Boerhaave—we all know that honourable, studious men are terribly bad at intrigue. In addition, fixed-number corporations like to enjoy their privileges in comfort and would be afraid of admitting a colleague who was too intelligent or too active, as he would create embarrassing and detrimental competition. These considerations will be sufficient reason for him to be eliminated; he will be rash enough to complain, for talented men seldom display the pliancy needed in civilised intrigues. His complaints will alienate the corporation even more and they will end up by rejecting him altogether.

In this way, the system of a fixed number of professionals tends in the long run to exclude those with the greatest aptitude. After less able people have been chosen over their heads a few times, they will be afraid to wait for the next death and risk being turned down again as a result of new intrigues. They will take some other job and live out their days in pointless tedium, lost to society, for man becomes nothing if he cannot occupy the position that nature intended for him.

All these drawbacks are prevented by progressive finance, which also has two advantages which are most unusual in civilisation: it rejects mediocrity and protects the hard-working poor candidate by means of the surety which at first sight might appear to have the opposite effect.

The higher the surety is raised, the more it will cut out all those parasitic individuals whose fathers push them into a profession without considering their aptitude for it, and who clutter up the bar, medicine and commerce because it costs them hardly anything to carry on their business.

But the surety will not exclude someone who is poor and clever; indeed if Boerhaave comes from a poor family and develops an outstanding talent in school he will be assured of the support of capitalists looking for talents to invest in as sleeping partners, entrusting speculative funds to someone whose abilities promise a good return, preferably a young man not brought up in comfort but spurred on by need. Thus Boerhaave, linking his talents with the need to make money from them, will have no difficulty finding his surety payment, while the lenders consider that they have made a good bargain by enabling him to practise a profession whose profits they will share.

I have given you an idea of how progressive finance and the proportional control that stems from it can reconcile the interests of a prince and his subjects, and how the opposite result is achieved if control is established in a fixed number of charter-holders, as we are seeing today.

Let me conclude by saying that in the absence of this measure the whole of commerce is on the point of falling into chartered control, because the operation has already been put into practice in two extreme cases, the colonial East India companies and the like, and brokerage companies, which by exclusive charter exercise the most important and least important functions of commerce respectively. Commerce is thus under attack at both extremes by the chartered companies. It is, as it were, surrounded and under siege. In this situation, what prevents them from taking over everything? Only each prince's shortage of money. Some innovative thinkers will propose the farmage of commerce, and coming at a time of penury this plan will be welcomed all the more because it offers not only the

prospect of improvement but also the benefit of enabling large and immediate payments to be made to public institutions. Once commercial charters have been admitted into one kingdom, they will necessarily spread to other states too because their isolated merchants would be made fools of by the companies of the neighbouring empire, who would have the same advantage in that conflict as a regular army has against undisciplined bands.

There is no need to concern ourselves with the results of this new industrial order, which constitutes the fourth phase of civilisation, or commercial feudalism, with the sovereign as leader. Let us merely note that civilisation is rapidly heading towards this political and economic revolution as a result of two successive blunders on the part of the economists.

The first was to have adopted anarchic competition, the principle of complete *laissez-faire* for merchants which has had such unfortunate results that they have had to look for ways of restricting it. The second was to have adopted or tolerated, as a means of such restriction, chartered control by a fixed number of practitioners, instead of free control by an undetermined number which fluctuates in relation to circumstances. There is no need to add that this second kind of control is a sixth-period measure: the fact that it encourages equity and freedom is enough to mark it off from the characters of civilisation, and for it to have escaped the notice of the philosophers, who are always at odds with justice, liberty and truth.

As the scholars only have a theory of commerce and no practical experience of it, and the traders have only practical experience without a theory, the opinions of both are equally dangerous, and the administration has good reason to complain that nobody understands anything about commercial politics, in which everybody competes in incompetence. To prove this I shall list the faults of the three respective parties.

I have already explained those of the economists.

The faults of the administration, as far as commerce is concerned, are the responsibility of the Constituent Assembly, which is as adept at destroying as it is incapable of constructive measures, and thus has increased anarchy in commerce as everywhere else.

They ought to have foreseen that, having suppressed the nobility to make way for the rich, the influence of these obscure beings would in the end force the government into retrograde actions, like re-establishing a nobility to act as a counter-weight (in the commercial sense) that would keep the traders' activities within the limits appropriate to their profession. Whereas at present, glorying in the absence of distinctions and the flattery of the economists, they have abandoned themselves to unrestrained luxury, which fuels their immorality, their dangerous speculations, their bankruptcies and all the other unregulated behaviour whose rapid growth forced the return to a harmful system of limited access to professional positions, in the absence of an understanding of the system of proportional access.

The faults of the traders are:

That they allowed themselves to be taken in by the theories of the philosophers, although they were aware of their maleficence, for there is not one of them who does not complain daily about the chaos attendant upon the endless multiplication of merchants.

That they heedlessly allowed their freedom and their privileges to be undermined by limited access to the professions, which leads to commercial preference. From then on, the administration could use their own arguments against them, and say, 'Your chambers of commerce have pronounced in favour of corporations with limited access, and said that representatives and control agents should put up

It indicates the only way they can retain their liberty, which they are a hair's breadth away from losing. The administration is secretly outraged at the way they avoid all taxes, their quota of which they would contribute under the system of proportional control, which would save them from farmage. See below.)

Thus in a single generation the philosophers have twice committed the absurdity of driving social movement into regression. The first time was by an excess of political freedom which, in 1793, led Europe rapidly towards barbarism. The second was by an excess of commercial freedom which is today making us sink rapidly towards a feudal order. These are the sad consequences of our trust in these scientific charlatans whose only purpose in life is to provoke controversy in order to sell enough books to live. Philosophy needed to have some illusory object of belief to take the place of the theological discussions they put an end to, and the object they chose was the golden calf of commerce, which they have turned into a social religion and a subject of academic debate. The hundred-tongued voice of fame no longer looks to the muses or their nurslings, but to commerce and its heroes. Wisdom, virtue, morality, all these have fallen out of fashion: everybody worships at the shrine of commerce. A nation's true greatness, what the economists regard as its true glory, is to see more pairs of trousers to the neighbouring empire than it buys from them.

guarantees or sureties, as they are only your commission agents (representatives being no more than travellers in other people's lies, to which they add their own); but in fact it is far more urgent to demand a guarantee from the traders, who are trustees of the public wealth, whereas their representatives are trustees of nothing but words: consequently, you traders may be certain that you will be forced to provide sureties yourselves.' To which the chambers of commerce will only be able to reply AMEN, and tell themselves, *You asked for it, Georges Dandin*.

The faults of the three parties I have just described, and the consequent movement towards the fourth phase, create a complex of ineptitude typical of our economic perfection. And the things I could say if I went on to look at other areas of commerce! This is the sum of enlightenment of a century that heaps up volume after volume on social policy! Poor scholars and wretched people, what chaos your civilisation is in! How astounded you will be when the theory of *passionate counter-march* allows you to see clearly through the vast maze of civilisation, in which philosophers, kings and peoples are nothing but groups of blind men, bumping into each other in the dark, losing each other in the belief that they are serving each other, and demonstrating by their errors the supremacy of the passions whose playthings they all are, and the necessity of studying the laws of these controllers of the world, instead of trying to dictate our laws to the passions.

Always eager for some new infatuation, France had blindly to commit itself to the latest stupidity. The consequence is that nobody can think or write or speak except in support of commerce. Even the greatest are slaves to this obsession: any minister who wants to be popular has to promise vast and thriving quantities of commerce to each market town; a great nobleman travelling through the provinces has to declare in every town he stops at that he is a friend of commerce, travelling for the good of commerce. The finest minds of the nineteenth century are those who can explain the mysteries of the Stock Exchange in pounds, shillings and pence. [Poetry and the fine arts are despised and] the temple of memory is only open to those who understand why sugar has *weakened* or why soap has *eased*. Since philosophy contracted this passion for commerce, Polyhymnia has sown the new science with flowers. The old language of merchants has been replaced with the suavest expressions, so that people talk elegantly about sugar *easing* or *weakening*, which means it has gone down in price, and soap *doing very well*, which means going up. There was a time when corrupt conspiracies like hoarding aroused writers' indignation: now underhand activities of that sort bring glory to their instigators, whose fame is announced in glowing Pindaric terms that proclaim, 'Soaps have experienced rapid and unexpected movement.' We seem to see the boxes of soap leap up towards the clouds, while the universe echoes with the sound of the soap hoarders' names. Any object connected with commerce, from a promissory note to a piece of cheese, inspires the philosophers' prose to the sublimest heights of rapture. A touch of their pen transforms a barrel of liquor into a bottle of attar; cheeses exude the scent of roses, and soaps outdo lilies in whiteness. All these flowers of rhetoric make a potent contribution to the success of industry, which has found the philosophers' support as much help as the people have: *lots of talk and no action*.

Rousseau might well say of the present that absurdity has changed since Molière, but we do not have a Molière to portray the new absurdities. Is there anything in all the noise of mercantile theories, apart from a verbosity designed to make the presses groan and stimulate argument among people with nothing better to do, that can explain the magnetic power and the freedom that *Trado-mania* enjoys?

Has there ever been so much disorder in industry as since the mercantile spirit took over? Just because one island nation took advantage of the inactivity of the French *ancien régime* to grow rich on monopoly and piracy, the whole of classical philosophy must be wrong! Trade is the only path to truth, wisdom and happiness! Merchants have become pillars of the establishment while governments try to outdo each other in debasement before a nation that buys them for a tenth the amount of the industrial tax it anticipates from them!

Looking at the way that kings and peoples have been outwitted by a few commercial sophisms, it is tempting to believe in magic, especially as they praise the maleficent class of speculators, hoarders and other industrial pirates who only use their influence in order to accumulate large sums of capital so that they can create fluctuations in the price of every commodity, upset every branch of industry in turn, and impoverish the labouring classes [agricultural workers, factory workers . . .] who are robbed *en masse* by speculative hoarding, like thousands of herrings being swallowed up by the mouth of a whale as it breathes in.

Let us leave the subject of commerce now. In the course of the preceding discussion, I have already announced what effects *societary competition*, the antidote to the present order, will have.

1. It will allow the great associations, which are the basis of any economy, to operate without restraints and without exclusive charters.
2. It will make the commercial body its own insurer, and all commodities being traded will be held in trust rather than owned outright.
3. It will transfer all the capital of commerce to agriculture and manufacturing. Because once society as a whole is insured against any malpractice on the part of merchants, everybody will trust them completely, as a result of which they will not need to charge more than a nominal sum, and all the currency can be returned to productive work.
4. It will return three-quarters of those currently employed unproductively in commerce to productive labour.
5. By means of progressive finance, it will make the commercial

body subject to the public taxes which they are presently able to evade.

6. And last, it will establish good faith in trading relations. Not to the extent that will be apparent in the combined order, it is true, but to a vast extent in comparison with the dishonesty that prevails at the moment.

This glimpse of what is to come may whet your appetite for a chapter on societary competition, but as I have pointed out, this prospectus is limited to demonstrating the ignorance of the philosophers and pointing out the aims they ought to have set themselves. And anyway, why pause on ways of perfecting Civilisation borrowed from the sixth period, like societary competition? What do the improvements of the sixth and seventh periods really matter, when we can jump right over them and move straight to the eighth, which thus becomes the only period worth thinking about?

When we have achieved that goal, when we are enjoying to the full the comfort of the combined order, then we can argue as long as we like about the vices of Civilisation and their remedies. Like war, it will look *better when it is over*. Then we shall be able to enjoy ourselves by analysing the civilised mechanism, which is the strangest of them all, as it has the greatest complexity of incentives. But our task now is to emerge from it, rather than studying it or improving it. This is why I am always trying to persuade readers of the necessity of rejecting all half-measures and going straight to the goal by immediately founding a canton of progressive Series. By providing a demonstration of passionate harmony, these will remove the philosophical cataract from the eyes of mankind, and rapidly raise all civilised, barbarous and savage nations to their social destiny of universal unity.

Epilogue: On the social chaos of the globe

You authors of the inexact sciences claim to be working for the good of the whole human race. Do you think that the six hundred million barbarians and savages are not part of it? Yet they suffer. And what have you done for them? Nothing. Your systems are only applicable in Civilisation, whose misfortunes are aggravated each time your policies are put into practice. When you possess the art of making us happy, perhaps you will think you are fulfilling God's design by trying to limit happiness to the inhabitants of Civilisation, who occupy only a tiny part of the globe. But God sees the human race as a single family, all of whose members have a right to its blessings. He wants either the whole of mankind to be happy, or nobody at all.

If you want to promote the wishes of God you must seek for a social order that is applicable to the whole of the globe, not just to a few nations. The vastly greater number of savages and barbarians ought to warn you that they must be governed and controlled by attraction, not by force. Do you imagine you could win them over by the prospect of your customs, which can only be maintained by the use of gallows and bayonets? Customs which even your own people hate, and which all countries would rise up against if they were not held back by fear of the whip!

Far from governing the human race and bringing it into unity, your theories arouse nothing but profound scorn among barbarians, and your customs provoke the savage's irony, whose most potent curse on an enemy is to say, '*May you be reduced to ploughing a field.*' These words could be regarded as a curse from nature itself;

and it is indeed quite right that civilised industry should be rebuked by nature since it is abhorred by free peoples who would embrace it at once if it accorded with the natural passions of man.

Which is why God has never permitted this kind of work to spread, and has not allowed civilised agriculture, which is such thankless work for those who bear the weight of it, to be extended to the rest of the globe. He has confined it to a few areas in China, India and Europe where there are teeming numbers of indigents, reserve bodies to help organise the combined order and ensure that from the outset it will be adequately supplied with a mass of agricultural workers. These wretches will then be able to be moved from the areas where they are an encumbrance, and directed by the Emperor of Unity to appropriate places in order to begin the process towards the full exploitation of the globe.

All your attempts to extend civilised industry and spread incoherent labour across the globe are in vain, though. God (for a variety of reasons which I cannot go into here) would never allow an order so contrary to his designs to extend to all cultivable lands and has taken precautions to confine it either by civil wars or by invasions of barbarians.

Industry may have made some progress in Europe, but it has lost vast areas of Asia. Civilisation may have founded a few feeble colonies in America, now threatened with collapse by the revolt of the negroes, but has it not lost vast empires nearer home, Egypt, Greece, Asia Minor, Carthage, Chaldea and part of Western Asia? Industry has been stifled in large and beautiful regions such as Bactria, where it had begun to become established, and the empire of Samarkand, once famous in the Orient, and all the regions between the Oxus and the mouth of the Indus, have regressed politically and formed hordes once again. The vast empire of Hindustan is rapidly approaching ruin under English tyranny, provoking a distaste for agriculture, and assimilation into the Marattas whose hordes already form a powerful nucleus of Tartars in the centre of the Moghul. In time they will be able to take up a position in the Western and Eastern Ghats, and bring together the peoples of the Malabar and Coromandel Coasts, turning them against industry by their incursions.

The hordes are making daily inroads into the cultivated areas of Asia, spilling further and further beyond their natural boundary,

the Himalayan mountain range that stretches from Bokhara to China. At our very gates, the hordes are surging all over Turkey. Fifty more years of persecution from the Ottoman Empire and we shall see the whole of that fine empire returned to the life of nomads or Tartars, who are making terrifying progress against Turkish domination. Other formerly flourishing Empires, such as Pegu and Siam, have relapsed into total weakness and degradation, and their culture, like that of Turkey, seems to have hardly more than a century of life left. If the current disorder of the globe is prolonged, the vast expanse that is Asia will start abandoning industry everywhere. Even China itself, that colossus of tight-fistedness and absurdity, is visibly declining. The most recent reports of Van-Braam have certainly disabused us about its pretended splendour.⁷ The social spirit has been debased since the influx of Tartars; the hordes occupy huge areas of territory, and for all this great empire's much-vaunted industry, only four leagues from Peking you come across fine land almost unknown and untouched. In the southern provinces, meanwhile, the priests appeal in vain to the people to work the fields: whole regions are left fallow as more and more people join the hordes. The horde is a volcano, always ready to engulf Civilisation. It is inveterate, no sooner stifled than ready to erupt again, reappearing as soon as no steps are taken to hold it in check. In the end, this universal tendency of wage-earners to go back to living in hordes brings all political questions back to one single problem: *Finding a new social order that ensures the least important workers enough comfort for them constantly and passionately to prefer work to the state of inertia and brigandage they aspire to today.*

As long as you continue to leave this problem unresolved, nature will subject you to perpetual attack. You will raise up empires only to see them become playthings of nature, which loves to plunge them into revolutions. You are a burden to nature, a prey nature uses for her own vengeance. Your scientific miracles always lead to indigence and reversals; your heroes and legislators are building on sand, and all the foresight of a Frederick cannot prevent weak successors seizing the throne the moment he is dead. Civilisation creates new heroes for the sole purpose of humiliating the heroes of

⁷ Andreas Everard van Braam Houckgeest, *Voyage de l'Ambassade de la Compagnie des Indes orientales hollandaises, vers l'Empereur de la Chine dans les années 1794 et 1795* (Paris, 1798).

the past, using the former to belittle the figures who were responsible for all the lustre Civilisation possesses. Surely this prospect of being followed by weak successors must make great men worry, and prevent them from enjoying their present triumphs because of the painful thought of the changes to come? Surely they must hate the treachery of Civilisation which uproots and overturns their work the moment they are dead? The civilised order is indeed increasingly insecure. The first eruption of the volcano created by the philosophers, in 1789, will be followed by others as soon as a weak ruler makes the conditions right for agitation. The war of the poor against the rich has been such a success that schemers in every country want to start it again. There is no point in trying to stop them: nature makes fun of our understanding and foresight and can start revolutions with the measures we think we are taking to ensure calm. If Civilisation continues for another fifty years, how many children will be begging at the door of their fathers' house? I do not dare say any more without including the calculus that will guide politics through the maze of the passions and free the world from Civilisation as it becomes more revolutionary and hateful than ever.

Civilised nations! Barbarians do not have your understanding, but they can sustain their societies and institutions over thousands of years; why then are yours eclipsed so quickly, often in the same century that they were created? You are always lamenting the fragility of our works and the cruelty of nature for causing the wonders of man to crumble into dust. You must stop attributing these reversals to time and chance: they are the effect of divine vengeance on your criminal societies and their utter failure to provide work and subsistence for the poor. It is in order to get you to admit your ignorance that nature puts your empires to the sword and thrives on their rubble.

Let me echo your political elegies for a moment: What has become of the monuments of civilised vanity? Thebes and Babylon, Athens and Carthage, are turned to piles of ashes! Not a good prognostication for Paris and London and these modern empires where the craze for mercantilism is a burden on reason and nature alike. So, tired of our societies, nature overturns them, one by one, ridiculing our virtues and our crimes without distinction. Laws regarded as oracles of wisdom or ephemeral codes cobbled together by agitators — both lead equally to political shipwreck.

To add insult to injury, the crude laws of China and India have withstood the hands of time for 4,000 years, while miracles of civilised philosophy disappear like shadows. Despite all our efforts to consolidate empires, the sum total of our knowledge seems to have provided nothing but toys for vandalism, which re-emerges periodically and in a short time destroys the work of several centuries.

A few monuments have survived, but only to bring shame on politics. Rome and Byzantium, once capitals of the greatest empire in the world, have become cities of ridicule. The temples of the Caesars on the Capitol have been taken over by the gods of obscure Judaea. The christian basilicas on the Bosphorus have been sullied by the gods of ignorance. In the one place, Jesus stands on the pedestal of Jupiter, in the other Mahomet is placed at the altar of Jesus. Nature preserved you, Rome and Byzantium, to be objects of scorn to the nations you enslaved; you have become two arenas of political masquerade, two Pandora's boxes spreading vandalism and plague in the East and superstition and its frenzies in the West. Through your debasement, nature jeers at the great empire it destroyed. You are like two mummies, preserved to ornament nature's triumphal chariot, and to give modern cities a foretaste of the fate in store for the monuments and works of Civilisation.

Nature seems to enjoy raising this hateful society for the pleasure of destroying it and proving, by this hundredfold repeated fall, the absurdity of the sciences that control it. Like Sisyphus pushing his rock up the hill only to have it roll down again as he reaches the top, Civilisation seems condemned to ascend towards an ideal state and then fall back just as it can see an end to its misfortunes. The most wisely considered reforms end in appalling bloodshed. Yet the centuries pass, the people groan in torment, waiting for new revolutions to plunge our tottering empires into chaos; for they are destined to destroy each other as long as they continue to trust philosophy, a science that is the enemy of unitary politics, a mask for intrigue, and good for nothing but fanning the flames of each revolution that time brings.

To the disgrace of our philosophers, the seeds of disintegration that threaten our frail societies are multiplying day by day. Yesterday academic arguments about equality toppled thrones, altars and the laws of property; Europe was heading towards barbarism; tomorrow nature will discover new weapons to use against us, and

Civilisation, put to new tests, will fail again. It narrowly avoids death every century: it was in its death-throes when the Turks were besieging Vienna and would have died if the Turks had adopted the European tactic. In our own time it has been within a hair's breadth of ruin: the revolutionary war could have led to the invasion and dismemberment of France, after which Austria and Russia would have shared Europe between them; in the subsequent arguments, Russia (which has means unknown to the world and to itself) would have been able to crush Austria and Civilisation. The destiny of this criminal society is to shine for a few centuries and then become eclipsed, to rise again and then to fall once more. If the civilised order could make human beings happy, God would have an interest in saving it and would have taken steps to ensure that it was indestructible. So why does he allow your societies to be engulfed by revolutions when they have only lasted a short time? In order to confound your writers and thinkers, who base social theories on their own caprices, while God, with less vanity than the philosophers, does not regulate the laws of the universe in accordance with his own wishes, but in all his works reconciles those with the eternal arbiter of justice, mathematics; its truth is independent of God and yet he follows its laws rigorously.

Do not be surprised, therefore, if your societies destroy each other, and do not hope for any stability under laws that derive from man alone, from sciences opposed to the divine spirit that will lead to the establishment of unity on the globe as in the firmament. Is not a world with no unitary leader and no central government like a universe with no God to direct it, where the stars revolve with no fixed orbits, colliding into each other for perpetuity? For, to a wise man, your nations look like wild beasts in a ring, eager to destroy each other and each others' works.

When you lament the successive downfall of your societies, you forget that they were opposed to God's design. Now that the discovery of his plans has been announced, you must instantly have been disabused about the excellence of Civilisation, and must have realised that it has exhausted human patience, and that a new social order is needed to lead us to happiness; that if we are to adopt God's plans we must find a social order that is applicable to the whole earth, not just to the corner of it occupied by civilised man, and that we therefore

need to study the social vices of the human race, not just those of Civilisation, which accounts for only a part of humanity.

On this basis let us state the argument for the political infirmity of the globe.

The earth is shared among three societies, Civilisation, barbarism and savagery. One of the three is necessarily better than the other two. The two less developed societies, which do not improve and do not identify with the best of the three, are the victims of that disease of listlessness which Montesquieu rightly described as afflicting the human race.

As for the third society, which is supposed to be the best, but which cannot or will not encourage the others to imitate it, it is clearly inadequate to improve the lot of mankind since it leaves the majority of it languishing in a state inferior to its own.

As a result, two of the three present societies have become paralysed, and the third is politically powerless. Can you say, after that, to which of the three societies these morbid characters, which have visibly affected the social mechanism of the whole globe, should be apportioned?

Discussing this argument, you will recognise the two paralysed societies as Savagery and Barbarism, which do nothing to improve their situation and obstinately stagnate in their customs, good or bad. As for Civilisation, that is the one afflicted with political powerlessness: it is constantly in movement, trying new measures every day in its attempt to escape its discomforts.

In passing from savage inertia to barbarous and civilised industry, humans have thus passed from a state of apathy to one of active misery, for the savage does not complain about his lot or try to change it, whereas civilised man is never content, constantly gnawed by desires despite being surrounded by opulence.

He burns with an incurable fire,
Not so much rich in his possessions
As poor in what he does not have.

[J.-B. Rousseau.]⁶

Apostles of error! Moralists and politicians! Can you still claim that you are bringing enlightenment to mankind after so much evidence of your blindness? The nations will reply, 'If your sciences are the

⁶ *Odes*, Book II, Ode IX, 'A M. le Marquis de la Fare'.

product of wisdom and yet have done nothing but perpetuate poverty and destruction, perhaps you should try sciences dictated by folly, as long as they diminish these frenzies and relieve people's misery.'

You promised happiness but instead you have reduced man to the level of the beasts. Animals may sometimes lack for necessities, but they do not have the anxiety of providing for their wants before they feel them. The lion is well-clothed and well-armed and takes its food where it finds it without having the worry of looking after a family and taking measures to guard against future uncertainties. Its lot is far preferable to that of the shameful numbers of the poor who crowd your cities, impoverished workers deprived of jobs, harassed by creditors and bailiffs, subjected to one humiliation after another until they finally turn to begging and parade their sores, their nakedness and their starving children through your cities, which resound with their doleful laments. Philosophers, these are the bitter fruits of your sciences: poverty and more poverty. Yet you claim to have achieved the perfection of reason, when all you have done is lead us from one abyss to another. Yesterday you denounced the fanaticism of St Bartholomew's Day: today the prisons of the September massacres denounce you; yesterday it was the crusades that depopulated Europe: today equality is the cause that mows down three million young men, and tomorrow some other fantasy will bathe the civilised empires in blood. Treacherous thinkers, you have reduced man and society to a state of utter abjection! The governments you praise so highly do well to be suspicious of your aid! You have always inspired terror, even in the sovereigns you counted as your disciples. Sparta cast you out and Cato wanted you hounded out of Rome. In our time, Frederick the Great said that if he wanted to punish one of his provinces he would give them to the philosophers to govern, and Napoleon has banished politics and ethics from the temple of the useful sciences. And do you still not distrust yourselves? Will you not admit that in your manipulation of the passions you have been like children playing with fireworks amidst barrels of gunpowder! The French Revolution has set the final seal on this truth, and covered your sciences with a disgrace that can never be expunged.

You knew that these absurd sciences would be destroyed the moment they were assailed by doubt, and so you have united to

stifle the voices of the few who set out to tell the truth, such as Hobbes and Rousseau, who saw in Civilisation an inversion of nature's wishes, a systematic development of all the vices. You spurned these rays of light in order to win an audience for your boasts about social improvement.

The scene is changing, and the truth you pretend to be seeking is about to appear and overwhelm you. There is nothing for you to do but die honourably, like defeated gladiators. Prepare the hecatomb you owe to truth, seize the torch, set up the stake, and consign the rubbish of your philosophical libraries to the flames.

End of the third part

Omitted Chapter

On organic Movement and compound counter-Movement

Considerations of time obliged me to exclude a number of chapters, including the one that follows, despite the fact that I had mentioned them in the course of the work. I shall restrict myself here to giving some idea of the first of them.

I said that the substances of the three realms represent the effects of the passions within the social mechanism: let me give you some examples of this, beginning with the particular subject of this work, association.

In the animal kingdom association finds a practical hieroglyph in the figure of the beaver, and a visual hieroglyph in that of the peacock. The eyes that bestrew the peacock's tail are the emblem of the magnificence and the *inequality* of the societary order. This sequence of eyes ranged in progressive order denotes the fact that association has nothing to do with our philosophers' dreams of equality and levelling.

But why does it have such an unbearable cry? Why this contrast between such superb plumage and such an unpleasant voice? It is because its voice depicts individual action, which is mendacious and discordant. The plumage, as emblem of the societary order, is charming and attractive, but since animals have no social qualities in themselves, only in association with the works of man, God uses the peacock's cry to depict the duplicity of every individual, outside progressive association.

The extreme ugliness of its feet is another enigma: why are they not decorative like the pigeon's or the eagle's? Why have two hideous supports to bear so much luxury? Because the societary order and the opulence that will result from it rests on two ages of poverty. (For the two ages of subversion or incoherence, see the large table at page 42.)

I shall not say much about the peacock here, since this hieroglyph is difficult to interpret without knowing the laws of Social Movement. Let us turn instead to a figure which is easier to understand, that of truth and its effects in Civilisation. Let us examine whether God has faithfully depicted the sad fate of truth in our social state.

The hieroglyph of truth in the animal kingdom is the giraffe. Since the characteristic of truth is to surmount error, the animal that represents it must be able to raise his head higher than all the others: this the giraffe can do, as it browses on branches 18 feet above the ground. It is, in the words of one ancient author, '*a most fine animal, gentle and agreeable to the eye*'. Truth is also *most fine*, but as it is incapable of harmonising with our customs, its hieroglyph, the giraffe, must be incapable of helping humans in their work; thus God has reduced it to insignificance by giving it an irregular gait which shakes up and damages any burden it might be called upon to bear. As a result we prefer to leave it to inaction, just as nobody will employ a truthful man, whose character runs counter to all accepted customs and desires. Truth is only beautiful in our society when it is inactive, and the giraffe, by analogy, is only admirable when it is at rest: when it walks or runs it provokes jeers, as truth provokes jeers when it takes a practical form. If a man were to go to a party in high society and speak out openly and truthfully about the escapades of the fine ladies there, or about the shady dealings of the businessmen or other men in the salon, there would be an outburst of indignation, and all present would agree in remaining silent about it and reviling the speaker. Matters are much worse in politics, where truth has even less play: thus to represent the way truth is repressed, God has cut the giraffe's horns down to their roots, so that they are no more than sprouts, permanently unable to branch up into antlers; God's chisel has cut them off at their base, in the same way as, in our society, the chisel of authority and public opinion has cut down truth to its mere emergence, forbidding it to develop further. Yet even the most deceitful

among us still want to seem truthful, and although we are enemies of truth, we want to deck ourselves out in its dress: by analogy, the only thing we want from the giraffe is its dress, its skin, which is extremely beautiful; so when we catch one we treat it rather as we treat truth. We say to it, 'Poor beast, you are good for nothing but to remain in the desert, far from the society of man; we may admire you for a little while, but in the end we must kill you and keep only your skin, just as we stifle truth and keep only its outward appearance.'

From this explanation we can see that God has created nothing without a purpose, even the giraffe which is supremely useless, but as God was obliged to represent all aspects of our passions, he had to use this animal to depict the complete uselessness of truth in Civilisation. If you wish to know what purposes truth will serve in societies other than Civilisation, study this problem in the *counter-giraffe*, which we call the *reindeer*, an animal which provides us with every service imaginable: you will see that God has excluded it from those social climates, from which truth will also be excluded for as long as Civilisation lasts.

And when the societary order has enabled us to become adept at the use of truth and the virtues which are excluded from our lives at present, a new creation will provide us, in the *anti-giraffe*, with a great and magnificent servant whose qualities will far surpass the good qualities of the reindeer, which so excites our envy and arouses our anger at nature for having deprived us of it.

The most interesting way to approach the explanation of these hieroglyphs is by looking at *contrasts*, like those between the beehive and the wasps' nest, or the elephant and the rhinoceros, at *alliances*, like those between the dog and the sheep, the pig and the truffle, or between the donkey, the thistle and the goldfinch, and by looking at *progression* by analysing entire families, like that of horned creatures – giraffe, red deer, fallow deer, roe deer, reindeer etc. – which are all hieroglyphs of the different effects of truth, and finally by comparing three families from the three kingdoms.

There would be no point in Civilised man trying to make sense of the hieroglyphs without understanding the theory of interpretation, because some of them represent the effects of passions which do not yet exist. For instance, the diamond and the pig are hieroglyphs of the thirteenth passion (harmonyism), which the inhabitants of

Civilisation have no experience or understanding of. There are other hieroglyphs, too, which depict social effects unknown in the civilised order: the elephant, for example, is the hieroglyph of Primitive Society (Confused Series). This was a state of *association* which included *the unity of industrial action*, figured by the trunk. This unity was solely based on good food or the luxury of the mouth: the elephant therefore has no luxury except at its mouth, whence issue its ivory defences or supports. In its garb it is the poorest of animals, because the Confused Series had no manufacturing industry, and almost no jewellery, although they were desperately fond of adornment; this is what God represented by covering the hieroglyphic animal in mud while giving him a disproportionate fondness for ornamentation.

The idea that the elephant might be more valuable than civilised man may cause an outcry, but primitive society was indeed better than our own, in that it possessed the elephant's proud and touchy sense of honour, a kind of honour which could never for a moment be in sympathy with the meanness of Civilisation. Primitive society was a shining example of friendship, fidelity, propriety, gratitude, and all the elephant's virtues, virtues which are unable to germinate in our societies; and, by analogy, the elephant ceases to be able to breed when it becomes part of our society.

Let me add to the analogy between the three kingdoms and the passions by giving an example drawn from the anatomy of the human body, which is a general table of the combined order. Let us look first at the human skeleton.

Its central section is composed of twelve pairs of ribs, leading to the three bones of the sternum, providing us with an emblem of the twelve passions which, in both sexes, lead to the three foci of attraction. There are 7 combined ribs and 5 incoherent ribs, just as there are seven dominant spiritual passions in the combined order, and five material passions which are dominant in societies of the incoherent order; a thirteenth rib, the clavicle, surmounts the 7 combined ones and figures the thirteenth passion, harmonyism, formed from the 7 spiritual passions. As this passion is destined to be the principal lever of societary industry, the clavicle has to be united to the arm, which is the lever of bodily industry.

The same order is partially reproduced in the skull, because the brain, being the seat of the soul and the focus of spiritual Move-

ment, needs to be housed within a container analogous to the spiritual passions. The cranium is thus formed of 8 bones, 7 of which are covered up; the eighth or frontal bone is the only one visible, and it figures the passion of harmonyism, which is of a higher order than the 7 primitive passions.

Other parts of the skeleton represent the industrial arrangements of the phalanx of attraction. I have said, for example (see Note A), that this is organised as a parade of 16 choirs and 32 quadrilles, a pattern which is represented by the parade of the teeth, which are naked and ranged in 16 pairs. The last two pairs are late to appear, weak and of little use, by analogy with the two choirs 1 and 16 (babies and patriarchs), which are the two choirs subject to weakness and uselessness. There are thus 14 choirs and 28 quadrilles remaining active and useful, and these are depicted by the 14 pairs of bones in the hand, which is the agent of industrial Movement.

These images of the combined order are repeated in all the solids and fluids of the human body. For example the 800 muscles of the male and female body provide an emblem of the 800 characters needed to make up a phalanx of attraction. The 10 pairs of nerves provide an emblem of the 10 pubescent choirs, the tenth of which is *outside love and passionate equilibrium*; which is why the tenth pair of nerves wanders about without leading to a fixed place. If anatomists had been aware of the laws of Movement they would not have laid so much stress on the wandering of this tenth pair, which is a necessary consequence of analogy (just as physicists would not have spent so much time arguing over whether or not light was a compound body).

Other more interesting images are presented by the heart, the liver, the viscera, body-fluids, etc. Many people have felt that the human body is an epitome of universal Movement, and this will be convincingly shown to be the case when this system of comparison has been extended to the smallest anatomical details. The horror that now surrounds the dissection of cadavers will then vanish, to be replaced by admiration of the way the body is constructed as a perfect image of the play of the passions and the social mechanism.

Civilised man has already caught a superficial glimpse of a few of these images: the serpent, for example, has been recognised as

an emblem of the calumnies and treachery of Civilisation, and the rose and its thorns as an emblem of virginity. These pictures are too striking to be misunderstood, and should have led to a suspicion that the image of the passions might extend to the whole of nature. A reading of this volume will encourage the perception of some more, such as that of the ugly caterpillar that changes into a beautiful butterfly, which is obviously the emblem of disgusting Civilisation metamorphosed into universal harmony. But for the most part people will not be able to make sense of the study of hieroglyphs until I have provided them with the 'Theory: until then they will just bring the preconceived philosophical ideas of moderation and equality to their study of them, which will prevent them from perceiving anything of the system of nature. They will imagine, for example, that the bee-hive represents equality. But this is quite wrong; the bee-hive and its contrary, the wasps' nest, depict the political orders of harmony and Civilisation. The bees figure all the phalanxes of the globe united under the protection of the federal monarch, whose emblem is the queen-bee, who communicates with each cell. The drones figure unproductive activity, the congresses and intermediary agencies which are subordinate to the federal hierarchy and which the phalanxes can revoke. By analogy, the worker bees kill the drones when they no longer have any use for them. This whole mechanism is depicted in reverse in the wasps' nest, which is the hieroglyph of political order in Civilisation.

To make the image an exact one, these two insects must demonstrate the opposed consequences of the combined order and the incoherent order.

1. *Wealth and poverty.* These are figured for the bees by honey, and for the wasps by the useless substance that results from their immense labours, image of our prodigious industry and the poverty which is all it gives rise to.
2. *Social enlightenment and social ignorance.* These are figured for the bees by wax, a source of light, and by their domestic association with man. Among the wasps we see emblems of ignorance and social disharmony in the fearful revolution in which the wasps' nest is self-destroyed, in its position underground, hidden from the light, and in their hostility to man, whom wasps attack for no reason, harrying and wounding us, and entering our rooms to soil and devour our food, and killing our

allies the bees. Bees, by contrast, do us no harm except in self-defence, and steal nothing from us, as they live off the scent of flowers, and make themselves doubly attractive by the example of work and the idea of social harmony they arouse in our minds whenever they visit our flowers.

When these images of the passions have been explained in their full detail across the three kingdoms, we shall see the philosophers capitulate unconditionally in the face of this Theory of Social Movement which they want to attack before they even understand it. They will have to admit that nature is not, as the scholars claim, hidden beneath a veil of brass, but that prejudice has covered our minds in a triple veil, composed of metaphysical, political and moral dreams, all of whose claims will be dispelled when we finally possess the secret of the system of nature which represents the passions, and we can put it forward in its entirety in support of the Theory of Social Movement.

Note A

On the Progressive Series or Series of industrial groups

I need to forestall one objection that is bound to be raised against this new domestic order I have called *Progressive Series*. It will be said that a child could have discovered it, and that the whole organisation of the order seems like a game; but this does not matter, as long as it achieves its purpose of producing *industrial attraction* and using the lure of pleasure to involve us in agricultural labour, which at present is a torment for a well-born man. All its tasks, such as ploughing, quite rightly fill us with a disgust bordering on horror, and an educated man with no resources except a plough is reduced to suicide. This revulsion will be completely overcome by the powerful industrial attraction produced by the Progressive Series I am about to describe.

The fact that this order's organisation rests on such simple calculations is remarkable evidence of the beneficence of providence in designing the science most important to our happiness to be the easiest for us to acquire. To attack the Theory of Progressive Series for its extreme simplicity results in two inconsistent attitudes, namely criticising providence for making the calculus of our destinies so easy, and criticising civilised man for his stupidity in failing to see the simplest and most useful of calculations. If a child could have worked it out, our scholars are less able than children, because they have failed to discover what their feeble understanding required; this is indeed the general weakness of Civilisation, whose thinkers have such inflated scientific pretensions that they overshoot

their mark by a factor of ten and make their science so complicated that they are quite incapable of grasping the simple processes of nature.

There is no more striking example of this than the case of the stirrup, such a simple invention that any child could have discovered it: yet it was not invented for 5,000 years. In antiquity, riders became completely exhausted and suffered serious maladies for the lack of stirrups, and stone blocks had to be placed at intervals along all the roads to help them mount. When they hear this, everybody is amazed at the stupidity of the ancient world, and yet this stupidity lasted fifty centuries, even though any child ought to have been able to prevent it. You will soon realise that the human race has been equally stupid in relation to the Passional Series, whose simple calculus could have been discovered by anyone with the slightest learning. Now that it has at last been understood, any criticism of its simplicity will, I repeat, be a joke which rebounds on those who make fun of it, and on the twenty-five centuries of scholars who have failed to perceive it.

Let us move on to the explanation I have promised. I shall deal only with material organisation of the Series, and say nothing here about their relations.

A Progressive Series is composed of people who are unequal in every way: in age, fortune, character, understanding, etc. Its members must be chosen so as to provide a contrast and gradation of inequality, from rich to poor, learned to ignorant, etc. The more these inequalities are graduated and contrasted, the more the Series will involve itself in profitable work, and provide social harmony.

It will be divided into different groups, organised in the same way as an army. In order to give a picture of it, I shall assume a mass of about 600 persons, half men and half women, all drawn by their passions to a single branch of industry, such as the cultivation of flowers or fruit. Let us take, as an example, the Series devoted to pear growing: the 600 people will be subdivided into groups, each of which will specialise in the cultivation of one or two types of pear, with one group of sectaries of the butter-pear, one of sectaries of the bergamot, one of sectaries of the russet, and so on. When everybody has enrolled in the group of their favourite pear or pears (they may be members of more than one group), there will be some

Pear-growing Series composed of 32 groups

	<i>Divisions</i>	<i>Numerical progression</i>	<i>Kinds of cultivation</i>
1st	Forward-position	2 groups	Quinces and hard, hybrid varieties
2nd	Ascending wingtip	4 groups	Hard cooking pears
3rd	Ascending wing	6 groups	Crisp pears
4th	Centre of Series	8 groups	Soft pears
5th	Descending wing	6 groups	Compact pears
6th	Descending wingtip	4 groups	Floury pears
7th	Backward-position	2 groups	Medlars and soft, hybrid varieties

thirty groups, with different banners and decorations, which will form three or five or seven divisions, as in the table above. It does not matter whether the Series is composed of men or women or children or a mixture of each, the arrangement is always the same.

The Series will always have *approximately* this arrangement both in the number of its groups and in the division of its work; the closer it approaches to this symmetry in its gradations, the more it will be in harmony with and involved in its work. The canton with the best graduated and most contrasted Series will be the one that makes the largest profit and, everything being equal, achieves the finest produce.

If the Series is symmetrically formed, like the one I have just described, there will be alliances between the divisions which correspond to each other. The ascending and descending wings will ally themselves against the centre and strive to outdo the centre in the quality of their produce; the two wingtips will join together with the centre to compete with the wings. The result of this mechanism will be that each group, through emulation, produces magnificent fruit.

Similar rivalries and alliances will occur between the different groups within a division. If a wing is composed of six groups,

three of women and three of men, there will be industrial rivalry between the men and the women, rivalry within each sex between group 2, which is central, and the two outside groups, 1 and 3, which will be in league against it, and an alliance of the groups in No. 2, both men and women, against the claims of the male and female groups in 1 and 3; finally all the groups of the wing will form an alliance against those of the wingtips and the centre, so that a Series which is simply devoted to the cultivation of pears will have more federal and competitive intrigues than all the political cabinets of Europe.

Then there are similarly organised intrigues between Series, and between cantons. There will, understandably, be great rivalry between the pear-growers' Series and the apple-growers' Series; but the pear-growers will form an alliance with the cherry-growers' Series, as the two species of fruit trees are too different to provoke jealousy among their cultivators.

The more the passions, struggles and leagues between the Series of a canton can be aroused, the more they will compete in their enthusiasm for work, and the more they will perfect the branch of industry their passions incline them towards. This will result in the general perfection of all industry, as Series can be formed for every branch of labour. What about [ambiguous] hybrid plants like the quince, which is neither a pear nor an apple? Its group is placed between the two Series, so that it becomes a link between them. The quince group is the forward-position of the pear-growers' Series, and the backward-position of the apple-growers' Series. It is a mixed group in between two Series, a transition between the two incorporated into both of them. And, just as there are these mixed products which belong to no species, so there are bizarre or hybrid tastes in the passions. The societary order utilises all these eccentricities and finds a use for every imaginable passion, God having created nothing that does not have a purpose.

I have said that the Series cannot always be classified as symmetrically as the one I have just described, but they approximate as closely as they can to that system, which is the natural order, and the best way of exciting the passions, counterbalancing them, and drawing them into work. As soon as workers are organised into progressive Series, work itself becomes a pleas-

ure, and they work less for the lure of profit than as a result of competition and other processes inherent in the spirit of the Series [and in the development of the Cabalist, or tenth, passion].

This gives rise to a most astonishing result, as astonishing as all those in the societary order, namely that the less people are concerned with profit, the more profit they will make. In fact, the Series most stimulated by intrigues, the one that makes the most pecuniary sacrifices to satisfy its pride, will be the one that imparts the greatest perfection and value to what it produces, and consequently makes the largest profit by forgetting self-interest and being entirely absorbed in passion. If, however, a Series has little in the way of rivalry, intrigue and alliances, little pride and excitement, it will work for its own interests rather than out of its particular passion, and its product, like its profits, will be greatly inferior to those of a Series with plenty of intrigue. The more it is stimulated by love of profit, in short, the less profit it will make. [It is therefore necessary to organise intrigue in a grouped Series as symmetrically as in a drama; and if this is to be successful, the most important rule to follow is the graded distribution of inequality.]

As I have already said, if Series are to have maximum intrigue and if the products of each of their groups are to be as perfect as they can be, they must be co-ordinated, as far as possible, with the ascending and descending progression. In order that readers may more easily fix this arrangement in their minds, I shall provide a second table, this time illustrating the parade Series.

Parade Series

In a societary canton all the members of the industrial phalanx that cultivates the canton are divided into 16 choirs of different ages; each choir is composed of 2 quadrilles, one of men and one of women, making a total of 32 quadrilles, 16 male and 16 female, each with its distinctive banners, decorations, officers and costumes, both for winter and summer. The 16 choirs are classified in the following order, making up the 7 divisions I described above.

<i>Divisions</i>			32 quadrilles
Forward-position	1 choir	No. 1	<i>Babies</i>
Ascending wingtip	2 choirs	{ No. 2	<i>Cherubs</i>
		{ No. 3	<i>Seraphs</i>
Ascending wing	3 choirs	{ No. 4	<i>Pupils</i>
		{ No. 5	<i>Students</i>
		{ No. 6	<i>Lads and maidens</i>
			<i>Puberty</i>
Centre of Series	4 choirs	{ No. 7	<i>Adolescents</i>
		{ No. 8	<i>Adventurers</i>
		{ No. 9	<i>Heroes</i>
		{ No. 10	<i>Athletes</i>
Descending wing	3 choirs	{ No. 11	<i>Refined</i>
		{ No. 12	<i>Temperate</i>
		{ No. 13	<i>Impassive</i>
Descending wingtip	2 choirs	{ No. 14	<i>Reverend</i>
		{ No. 15	<i>Venerable</i>
Backward-position	1 choir	No. 16	<i>Patriarchs</i>

These names are adapted to the custom and practice of the combined order.

The choirs 7 to 15 are the nine amorous choirs; the sixth choir has already reached puberty but does not practise love materially, only spiritually.

In a parade, the 32 quadrilles appear in 32 different uniforms; women always make up half the organisation of the societary order.

The arrangement of the Series is the same in all branches of agricultural and manufacturing industry, and in science, art and pleasure. There is always a symmetrical competition between groups and the divisions made up of several groups.

By using the tables I have provided, anyone will be able to classify a Series of science or arts and divide each type into the seven divisions of centre, wings, etc., [which can themselves be subdivided into various types].

If five groups of poets practise the following five genres:

Epic
Tragedy
Comedy
Ode
Idyll

everyone should be able to indicate which division of the Series they belong to and classify them as follows.

The *Ode* group in the *ascending wingtip*.
The *Tragedy* group in the *ascending wing*.
The *Epic* group in the *centre of the Series*.
The *Comedy* group in the *descending wing*.
The *Idyll* group in the *descending wingtip*.
And the hybrid genres in the *forward or backward-position*.

In addition to the seven divisions I have indicated, a complete Series also has five accessory divisions, namely:

8th: the *Reserve*.
9th: the *Novices*.
10th: the *Allsorts*.
11th: the *Sectines*.
12th: the *Auxiliaries*.

The *Reserve* is composed of individuals who previously belonged to one group in the seven genre divisions, but whose tastes have changed so that they have abandoned that passion. Their help is sometimes called for in situations where an unforeseen mishap endangers the work of the Series or diverts a majority of its members from a necessary gathering.

The *Novices* are those who have a budding passion for the tastes of the Series and aspire to join one of its groups. They are taken on provisionally as pupils, after which they can move to the level of bachelors, and from there to full membership of the Series.

The *Allsorts* are a group whose members have a general knowledge of all the branches of industry or pleasure that the Series comprises. For example, in the Series of flowers there will be some members who will want to understand how to grow all the varieties of flowers, so that they will be able to take part in all the functions of all the groups in the Series. They will make up the group of a

thousand flowers which cultivates the meadow altars, around which all kinds of flowers will be planted. They will preside over exhibitions, and will have other, additional functions.

The *Sectines*^a are the branches of sects^b which are subdivided into various groups too small to have officers and the usual organisation. The sectine of small flowers would be one, made up of some twenty small groups of three or four individuals who will specialise in the cultivation of unimportant small flowers, like pansies, daisies, mignonette and heliotrope, little flowers which will not produce coalitions of Series members such as we shall see in the case of carnations, roses, tulips, ranunculus, hyacinth, tuberose and others for which there will be many more uses which will call for the classes of officers I shall describe below.

Assuming that fifty lovers of small flowers form a dozen little groups, they will join together in three main groups in order to take their place in the large Series of flowers. There they will form the descending wingtip, and from their twelve little groups they will establish the seven divisions I described in relation to the pear-growers' Series.

The *Auxiliaries*. In simple Series, composed of one sex only, the auxiliary body is a group of the opposite sex which is linked to the Series. Although some tasks are assigned to one sex in particular, there will be some men whose passions incline them to occupations which are normally allotted to women, and some women whose inclination leads them to prefer men's work. This apparent eccentricity is part of the general law of exception which nature introduces everywhere. Every simple Series thus has links with one or two auxiliary groups, drawn from the opposite sex, so that each individual can find an outlet for the passions that God has given them. When the Series is *compound* or made up of both sexes, its auxiliaries will also be drawn from both sexes.

The twelve divisions will have a large number of officers, the six principal classes of which I shall describe.¹

^a The small diets which make up the large one are called dietines; I have coined the word 'sectines', by analogy, to describe the small sects I am describing here.

^b Remember that *Sect* means the same as *Series* [editors' note, 1841]

¹ 1841: 'seven principal classes'. Fourier adds a combined officer class, and includes Saints and Patrons in the Academy, which becomes class seven.

- 1st: The *Divinities*.
- 2nd: The *Priesthood*.
- 3rd: The *Senior Officers*.
- 4th: The *Non-commissioned Officers*.
- 5th: The *Administration*.
- 6th: The *Academy*.

From this table, in which the officers outnumber the soldiers, it will be clear how important it is to control and graduate the inequalities of fortune in a phalanx of harmony, and to bring together every sort of contrast, from the millionaire to the man with no fortune, from the scholar to the uneducated, etc.; without these contrasts it would not be possible to form the corps of officers, who are the soul of each Series.

The *Divinities*. Each group elects a divinity of the opposite sex. A male group chooses a goddess, a female group chooses a god; then there are divinities for each division in the Series, like the god or goddess of the ascending wing or the centre, etc., and divinities for the Series as a whole.

In festivities and ceremonies each god or goddess takes their place at the head of their group, division or Series, taking precedence over all the other officers (we are talking about festivities, not about work); thus for example a Series of woodmen or woodcutters, made up of fifteen [male] groups, will appear on its feast-day with a corps of divinities arranged as follows:

- 15 *Hamadryads*, one at the head of each group of woodmen.
- 5 *Dryads*, leading the five chief divisions of the Series.
- 1 *Fairy*, at the head of the Series.
- 1 *Iris* or *Messenger*.
- 1 *Sibyl*.

Then some *Cherubs* and *Seraphs* drawn from among the children to serve the gods and goddesses

The *Hamadryads* will be chosen from the young women, the *Dryads* from the middle-aged women, and the *Fairy*, the *Sibyl* and other first-class deities from the ranks of the old women, who have already passed through the lower grades.

If the Series is compound, i.e. made up of both sexes, the corps of olympians will be twice as large.

The gods take their place at the altar and receive divine honours from the Series.

The position of divinity does not require any knowledge of the occupations of the Series. A young woman might be chosen to be Urania for a group of astronomers without having any understanding of astronomy. It is enough for the god or goddess to have some rough idea of the work of the group whose worship they receive. Gods are usually chosen from the class furthest removed from the group. A society of very rich scholars (as scholars will be in the combined order) will happily choose a poor girl as their goddess, and this choice will become her path to fortune. A group of mostly poor workers will often choose one of the phalanx's rich women for their divinity. These contrasts are dictated by sentiment, without any need to explain the motives behind them.

The Priesthood. The priests and priestesses in a Series are the principal musicians: they conduct the hymns and the divine service in the temple or at parades. There must be at least one priest or priestess attached to each group, with senior priests for the divisions of the Series and a high priest or priestess for the Series as a whole. The priesthood is twice the size for compound Series.

The Senior Officers. This is composed of more or less the same superior officers as a military regiment, namely a captain, lieutenant and sub-lieutenant for each group, and officers of the Series, such as the colonel, major, banneret, etc.

The Non-commissioned Officers are again comparable to regimental NCOs. Each group has its standard-bearer, its corporal and other deputies, under the command of the Series NCOs who inspect them. They are responsible for equipment.

[*The Combined Officers* comprise the corresponding negotiators, both in the Phalanx Treasury and in the neighbouring phalanxes and the provincial and regional Congresses.]

I do not need to add that if the Series is compound, there will be twice as many officers, of both sexes. A compound Series will thus have a male and a female colonel, and a male and a female banneret. The women perform all the functions of their offices instead of merely being invested with meaningless titles, like our Madam President who presides over nothing, and Madam Field-Marshal, who commands nobody. In the combined order, where there will not be any marriage, people will not acquire the rank of

the men or women they sleep with; the only titles they will have will be those of the jobs they do: if a woman is nominated as colonel or banneret of the flowers, she will command the Series in parades or carry its banner, and take the chair in meetings related to its tasks. A female paladin will command the female caravans, and a female marshal will command the women's army.

The *Administration*. This is composed of officers with responsibility for accounts and ceremonial, such as the conservator, archivist, herald and mace-bearer, etc. Each group has to have officers like this, and others will be appointed for the whole Series, which needs a male or female conservator and herald, as does each group and each division of the Series.

The *Academy*. Its membership is drawn from the leading experts in each group, those who have the greatest theoretical or practical knowledge. A Series of 12 groups will thus have 24 academicians, half theorists, half practitioners, drawn from each of the groups, with a few extra members chosen for the breadth of their ideas. The academy makes decisions relating to the interests of the Series as a whole, and arbitrates on the undertakings of individual groups. There can be other kinds of officers in the Series, in fact they can be multiplied *ad infinitum*: a child who is admitted to thirty or so Series may have some twenty ranks and give himself a *grand title* longer than that of the king of Spain.

[The *Saints* or *Patrons* and *Patronesses*. This body is made up of dead men and women who have brought fame to the Series and furthered the progress of science or the arts. After their death they are beatified and canonised by the Council of the Spheric Hierarchy, special division. Buffon, for example, will be canonised by the universal Series of zoologists, Linnaeus by that of the botanists, Hippocrates by the doctors, Duhamel by the fruit-growers, Racine by the dramatists. Their statues will be honoured in perpetuity, all over the globe, by their own Series, as part of a religious cult which will inspire each Series, in recognition of the services they have rendered to it, to perpetual gratitude.]

All this pomp may be thought unnecessary to the cultivation of flowers and fruit, wheat and wine, etc., but haubles and honorific titles do not cost anything, and they are incitements to greater enthusiasm in the work of the Series. Captains are only captains during parades, and for the rest of the time they work like anybody

else, as all the members of a progressive Series are there out of attraction and a taste for the passion of the Series. In a gastronomy Series, for instance, the colonel and the captains will eat as well as the ordinary members, and the same goes for their work which, in the combined order, will be as much of an attraction as the table and other pleasures are for us. And if each of the twenty members of a group is given an official function, this will merely intensify activity and competition without costing a penny more, apart from expenditure on their ornaments of office, since, as the Series is passionate about the purpose for which its members have come together, the officers do not receive any emoluments and are quite content with the dual motivation of the passion which drew them into the Series and the rank which distinguishes them. It is sufficient reward for the richer officers to be able to spend money at will for the good of the Series, without any thought of profit, although profit there will be at the end of the year; in fact, the less they think about it, the greater it will be, and the more it will be helped by the zeal with which their enthusiasm inspires the subaltern members of the Series.

Easy as it is to understand the organisation of the Series, it will be commensurately difficult to grasp their mechanism without a full treatise on the subject. The difficulty lies not in forming them, but in setting them in action and inciting them to work by means of inter-group and inter-divisional leagues and rivalry.

The only way in which the passionate Series can become involved in work is through the influence they can exercise collectively over each other. It will be necessary to form 144, twelve dozen, in order to set them working in proper accord by means of rivalry and competition. (144 is intended to be an approximate number.) If only one or two Series were formed in isolation, there would be no way of setting them in motion. It would be very easy to set up some Series of enthusiasts for flower and fruit growing in Paris by providing them with gardens full of trellises and flowers, conveniently arranged for the work of the different groups, but after a week the Series would be all over the place and it would be impossible to keep them to a single task, even if they were composed of people who had nothing else to do. The passionate mechanism cannot be organised incompletely: each part is necessary for the whole, and the absence of a few cogs would throw the whole machine into

chaos. This why it would not be possible to form a half-phalanx of sixty or so progressive Series; there is no halfway-house between harmony and incoherence except a societary order with graduated passions. (See page 116 on *the progressive household or preliminary Series, the nine-group tribe*.)

But by forming a canton, according to geometrical rules, of about 144^f Series devoted to agriculture, manufacture, science and the arts, and by setting them symmetrically against each other, it will be possible to stimulate such keen intrigues and imbue their work with so many of the different kinds of self-interest which all the Series will discover in *general attraction*, that each will be led on by the other to perform prodigies of industry and study, without needing to be prompted by the lure of profit. They will have no motive other than the passionate spirit, a blind prejudice for their favourite tastes; and this excitement will be so powerful that millionaires, the sybarites of today, will rise before dawn in order to expedite and personally to support the work of the Series they have sided with. You will see them during the day wearing themselves out like galley-slaves, going around their favourite groups and Series, inspiring them by their example; and even after so much hard work, they will wish they could make the days twice as long, so that they could double the fatigue that makes them so happy. All their collaborators, rich and poor, will share their enthusiasm, which is the reason why the progressive Series will be able to obtain valuable harvests from land which resists all the attempts of civilised man to make it fertile.

We saw earlier how, in a canton with a diameter of about 3,000 toises' diameter and a population of 1,000 to 1,200 persons, it will be necessary to form about 150^d Series with about 300^e individuals in each (this number is approximate).

It is obvious that these 150 Series will require 150 dominant passions: each person will thus have to have about a quarter^f of the 150 passions, or nearly 40 dominant tastes, in order to enrol in forty or so Series.

But civilised man, for the most part, has no more than three or four dominant tastes, and so it will be necessary for them to develop

^f [405]

^d [405]

^e [100]

^f [a 10th]

a large number of new fantasies, and to create in each individual at least ten times as many passions as he has today. To attain this goal it will be necessary to proceed by methods contrary to all our received wisdom, but this does not matter, so long as we arrive at our purpose, which is to produce *industrial attraction* so that people can perform with pleasure all the agricultural and manufacturing tasks which today are only performed out of necessity and with loathing.

This brief note will not shed any light on the problem of how to manoeuvre the 144 Series of a canton into inveigling each other into domestic, manufacturing and agricultural labour, and into studying and practising the arts and sciences, and ensuring that the products of their industry attain the degree of perfection to be expected of people who work out of passion, *esprit de corps* and self-respect instead of for motives of need and profit.

But it should be clear from this inadequate note that the Theory of Series is not fitted to abridgement, and cannot be properly explained by an outline sketch. It is based on procedures so far removed from anything we are accustomed to that it requires a full understanding, and mere summaries and anticipatory ideas of the sort that people ask me for will not cast any light on the terrifying problem of *transposing the human race into industrial attraction*. I shall provide the solution to this in the third memorandum. The first two will be taken up with preparatory discussions, particularly on the necessity of association as the only order compatible with God's intentions.

In order to organise a regular and stable social mechanism, God could not speculate on individuals acting in isolation, only on society-groups, for the following reasons:

God cannot wish his works to be subject to continual disorganisation and instability, which is what would happen if their fate rested with isolated individuals who suffer from the weakness of being subject to death and inconstancy: he must rather choose passionate groups or corporations, which never die and whose tastes never vary, as those whom death or inconstancy remove are constantly replaced by fresh neophytes. Groups improve endlessly because they are immortal; they transmit the skills and lessons of experience from one age to the next in a way that cannot happen in families,

because children do not inherit their fathers' tastes and do not have the ability to continue and improve their fathers' work.

The civilised order ought to demand a degree of conformity of taste between fathers and sons, or at least a less striking divergence between them, but in fact the opposite happens, and nature takes a delight in dividing them as sharply as it can, putting the poetic genius of Metastasio in the son of a door-keeper, and endowing the offspring of one great man⁶ with the most vulgar inclinations. This disparity, which has such a harmful effect on our domestic society, is one of the thousand indications of its opposition to nature's designs: nature made characters and passions to suit the combined order, not to suit civilised incoherence. I shall frequently have occasion in the course of this work to repeat that, once the progressive Series have been organised, you will find that some natural dispositions which today strike you as eccentric or vicious will turn out to be admirable: fathers will congratulate themselves that their children have been given tastes different from their own, and the human race will praise God for creating inclinations that, in your Civilisation, are the seeds of profoundest disorder, and you will come in the end to recognise that there are no bad or useless passions, and that all characteristics are good in themselves, that all passions must be intensified, not moderated; that we need to create fantasies and needs even among the rich; that the best citizens, those most useful to the societary mechanism, are those with the greatest inclination towards the refinements of sensual pleasure and those who are most blindly devoted to assuaging all their passions. This is the unimaginable problem whose solution is to be found in the Theory of progressive Series or Series of industrial groups.

End of Note A

N.B.

There are a number of mistakes which bear witness to haste: for instance, when I cited the eight disadvantages of marriage, on page 110, I left out the most important one, the anxiety suffered by

[Cacero]

fathers when they are separated from their children after a marriage has taken them to some far-off place, and the difficulty of finding partners for them. I mention this omission, as one among many, to invite you to withhold judgement until I have completed a second prospectus, which will present the absurdities of Civilisation in ways more adapted to current opinion, and in which I shall be led by the comments I receive in response to the publication of this first one.

Advice to the civilised

About the coming social metamorphosis

A number of civilised people have wanted to know what they should do to make the best use of what remains of Civilisation: here is what I have to say in this connection.

1. Do not erect any buildings. The arrangement of civilised buildings is quite incompatible with life in the combined order, and all your houses will require enormous changes if they are to be of any use; some, indeed, will be completely unusable. There is no need for property-owners to be alarmed at this, because any damage caused by the establishment of the new order will be indemnified by the Spheric hierarchy, which will have three times as much empty land as cultivated; and when the whole of the globe has been brought into production, it will have ten times more wealth than it needs to cover any indemnities that arise.

2. Seek out portable wealth such as gold, silver, precious metals and gems, and other luxury objects scorned by the philosophers: their value will double or triple in the period when the combined order begins. Copper, tin, iron, etc., will not increase so markedly, but generally speaking all products that have to be arduously mined from the earth will rapidly acquire great value in the combined order, where mining will be extremely expensive because it is so unattractive a job. The same will be true of objects extracted from the sea-bed with such difficulty, like pearls, etc.: very few people will undertake work of this sort, even once harmony has been completely established.

3. In country properties, the best things to look for are full-grown timber woods and quarries. A vast number of new buildings will have to be constructed very quickly, so building timber and ashlar are bound to become extremely expensive in the early years, when the combined order will still be imperfect, and the mercantile spirit will continue more or less intact for some time.

4. Do not set up house in some distant place, and certainly do not be tempted to go abroad in search of fortune: everyone will be happy in their own home region, and will have no misgivings about staying there. As for emigration from the more populous countries, this will take place in a very different manner from your present colonial system, and colonists will set off already formed into phalanxes to occupy cantons and buildings which will have been prepared for them by industrial armies.

5. Have children: there will be nothing more valuable at the start of the combined order than little children of three and under as, not having yet been spoiled by civilised education, they will receive the full fruits of natural education and develop body and mind to perfection. Consequently, a child of two will be much more valuable than one of ten, and the Spheric hierarchy will generously compensate all young women who can provide children under the age of three. Similarly it will compensate princes who take steps to encourage this by allowing all young women to have children outside wedlock.

6. Do not sacrifice present well-being to future happiness. Enjoy the moment, avoid any association of marriage or interests which does not instantly satisfy your passions. Why should you work for some future good, when it will surpass anything you could wish for, and when the only annoyance you will feel in the combined order will be your inability to double the length of the days to make enough time for the immense round of pleasures you will have available?

7. Do not be misled by superficial people who think that the invention of the laws of Movement is just a theoretical calculation. Remember that it only requires four or five months to put it into practice over a square league, an attempt which could even be completed by next summer, with the result that the whole human race would move into universal harmony, so your behaviour should be governed from now on by the ease and proximity of this immense revolution.

8. Be even more careful not to listen to criticisms which have to do with *the inventor rather than the invention*. What does it matter how it is announced? Or that this prospectus is lacking in style and method, etc.? I freely admit it, and indeed I have no intention of trying to do better in the memoranda that will follow. Even if they were written in dialect, it is the *invention* you should judge, not the *inventor*. Any criticism is thus beside the point, as the invention has not yet been published, and I have allowed nothing but a few glimpses of it. It was probably not necessary to devote a whole volume to such an announcement, but I had to bow to public opinion, which wants volumes. The first question anybody asks is how many volumes the invention will take up; they seem to believe that nothing can have any value unless it has filled several, so I have to embroider the subject a bit and write books which are fairly bad, as befits a man who, apart from his discovery, knows nothing except how to handle a *yardstick*. So, to save the critics time, let me declare that I offer my books to the slaughter, and lay no claim to being a writer, only an inventor. I have no desire even to read a grammar to correct the faults with which, I am sure, my style is teeming. I parade my ignorance because the greater it is the more shame it casts on scholars who, with all the knowledge I lack, have been unable to discover the laws of social Movement, and have failed to glimpse the way to happiness that I, and I alone, have opened to the human race, nobody else being able to claim the slightest share in my invention.

Before I publish it, I shall produce a second prospectus which will be an extension of this one, dealing with more or less the same subjects.

The purpose of these two memoranda being to sound out public opinion in order to know what points require more extensive development, I have had to skim lightly over all the matters I have touched on, as I cannot provide a more thoroughgoing demonstration before I publish the theory of passionate attraction.

This will be contained in six small memoranda which will appear one after another, and in which I shall describe the combined order in action. I shall assume that Epimenides will reawaken in the year 2200, the period when the eighth social period will have developed into its full splendour, and when the second creation will begin, leading the human race into the ninth period.

Subscribers to these six books about passionate attraction will be able to send me their objections and their comments on developments they consider necessary. I shall give them clarifications which will be of general use and, as each book comes out, I shall devote a few pages to answering what seem to me to be the most important points raised by readers. Apart from this, I have no desire to engage in any polemical argument on the subject.

There is one problem that people will have to abstain from asking for clarification about: this is the most important of all, the problem of the *proportional remuneration of the three aspects of industry, that is to say, the division of the agricultural and manufacturing products of a phalanx among its members in proportion to the capital, knowledge and labour of each.*

This problem is the Gordian knot of the combined order, and without a solution to it there is no point in organising a phalanx; it would rapidly fall into disharmony if nobody knew the measures necessary for the *proportional remuneration of the three aspects*. I shall deliberately avoid clarification of this problem so that I can retain the honour of founding universal harmony myself, as it could be initiated by any rich landowner, or even a company of shareholders, if I divulged the solution to this problem.

I ask you now to re-read this work if you want to derive any benefit from it: a first reading will not suffice for such a new subject; and, besides, not being used to writing I have not been able to classify the various matters systematically, or explain them clearly. A second reading will therefore dispel many of its obscurities and make up for my inadequacies. A number of my assertions run counter to all received opinion and may at first offend the intelligence; they can only be appreciated at a second reading: the first reading will only provoke doubts which will have to be fully confirmed by a maturer consideration of the absurdities of Civilisation.

Has there ever been a more favourable moment to recall civilised man to a sense of shame at himself and his philosophic sciences? Has there ever been a generation more politically inept than the one which has caused the death of three million young men merely to bring about a return of the prejudices it wanted to be free of? The frenzies of earlier centuries were far more excusable: greed and fanaticism displayed themselves quite openly and it was naked passion that caused wars; whereas nowadays the worst massacres in

historical memory are perpetrated for the honour of *reason*, and three million victims are sacrificed for *sweet equality* and *tender fraternity*, after which Civilisation, tired of carnage and ashamed of its own ineptitude, sees no other path to peace than meekly to re-establish the prejudices they had banished, and to seek support from customs which the philosophers accuse of *irrationality*.

These are the political triumphs of the present generation. After that, who will not blush to be civilised and to have given credence to political and moral charlatanism? What century should be more prepared to regard our knowledge of society as dark ignorance, and to suspect the existence of some more definitive science that has so far evaded the researches of the human race? For indeed the science of social happiness you have failed to find is none other than the theory of passionate attraction; the mechanism of attraction is a problem which God gives all globes to solve, and their inhabitants cannot move on to a state of happiness until they have had it explained to them.¹

¹ The *Advice* concluded with the following advertisement:

SUBSCRIPTION. The six memoranda on *Passionate Attraction* will each comprise about one hundred and fifty pages of the same nature and format as this volume, at a subscription price of twelve pounds. Letters and remittances should be addressed, post paid, to the author (Charles, at Lyons). Subscribers who live in towns some distance away may form groups of twelve and designate one of their number as a corresponding bookseller. Whoever sends me a total of twelve subscriptions will become correspondent for that town and the surrounding area. The publication of the six volumes will start as soon as there are one thousand subscribers.

1818 Introduction

Fourier wrote the following piece, the *New Introduction to the Theory of the Four Movements*, in 1818, ten years after the work's first publication, and four years before the publication of the *Treatise on Domestic and Agricultural Association*, which the author was preparing at the time. It was printed in Fourier's lifetime in *La Phalange*, vol. 1, number 22, in 1837.¹

Reading this work, you must try to avoid the mistake all the French make: they want a prospectus to contain all the details which properly belong in a treatise, and complain that they cannot understand how the changes I announce will be put into practice. If I had wanted to explain this I would have published a treatise, not a prospectus. It is not appropriate to begin by publishing my Theory; and as I have only published the announcement of it, I do not need to provide anything except a few glimpses to excite curiosity and create a demand for the treatise in which the practical means will be communicated.

My purpose in publishing this book was twofold: *to test public opinion and to prevent plagiarism*. It was a way of staking my claim, a measure particularly necessary in France where twenty plagiarists lay claim to every discovery and accuse the author himself of plagiarism.

I cast this essay in a form that was sometimes shocking, and varied its tone, in order to disguise the different tests I was making

¹ Note taken from the edition of 1841.

of readers' preconceived ideas, which are stronger in France than anywhere else. The most convenient way of examining these one by one was to arrange the work after the manner of Harlequin's costume, stitching it together from all sorts of motley materials. It has been accused of being unsystematic, but it has the kind of method necessitated by disguise.

The first part of the work, the *Cosmogony*, is not definitive, although it contains many details which have been confirmed by the definitive *Theory*. It was not until 1814 that I discovered the Universal Keyboard of Creation, which operates as a compass in this kind of calculation.

In the *Treatise* I shall publish in 1821, this part of the work will be definitive, like the rest. I have corrected the most glaring errors by hand. But on the whole there are very few errors of conjecture on this issue; indeed I am amazed that I made so few mistakes when I did not have the verification calculations I discovered in 1814.

A few examples will suffice to demonstrate how slight these errors are. In the large table I set the number of social periods at 32: it is, in fact, 34, including the two pivotal periods which do not count as Movement. I omitted all the pivots in 1807. I estimated the number of our planets at about fifty, including those as yet undiscovered. This was a more serious error. There are only 32 in the solar scale, not including our moon, Phoebe, which is a dead star and will be replaced by the small star Vesta.

There are only two more planets in the scale which remain to be discovered: these are Proteus, which is hidden by Saturn, and Sappho, which is hidden by Herschel; both are of the composite order, and correspond in terms of function to Venus and Mars.

There may also be four reserve planets beyond Herschel, but this will still only bring the total number in the vortex to about 40 instead of 50. I was not able to make a proper count of these unknown planets when I set the total approximately at 50.

An equally serious error of method was to divide Movement into four branches instead of five: one pivotal and four cardinal branches. I was unaware of the *Theory of Pivots* in 1808, and frequently omitted them. This irregularity does not change anything as far as the foundations of the general *Theory* are concerned, any more than my overlooking the neutral mode, which is not mentioned in this volume, as I only discovered its uses six years later.

The wits who made jokes about the Four Movements would have been better employed in correcting these errors. They could have demonstrated to me that I had forgotten the Aromal Movement, and that I had mistakenly situated the passional on the line of the four others, when it is their Pivot and their model.

No new science can be complete at the first attempt, especially when its author is the only person working on it. In 1807 I had only known about it for eight years, and there were still an infinite number of problems to be solved before I had a complete body of doctrine. I would not have hurried into print so quickly if the curiosity of several individuals had not asked me for at least an outline of it, and urged me on because of their fear of the censorship that was threatened, and which muzzled France the following year. To avoid it, I hastily composed this essay.

I had already solved some of the principal problems, including the formation of the Passional Series and the organisation of a Phalanx of domestic harmony with 810 contrasting characters. And I already knew the secret of balanced distribution as a direct function of masses and an inverse function of the square of distances.

It was thus possible, from then on, to leave Civilisation. The French have preferred to remain there, at a cost so far of 1,500,000 lives lost in battle, and every sort of humiliation and destruction. The list of these disasters is the best response to their jokes, for which they have been so thoroughly punished.

The discussions I have had about my discoveries with individuals from other nations have persuaded me that the French, with their mania for wit, their many preconceived ideas and their habit of dogmatising about every debate without analysing it first, are not competent to study Attraction, whereas the Germans and other northern peoples understand it very well. They are not so full of inflated pretensions and can adapt themselves to the precept of Condillac and Bacon, who both advise Civilised man to *remake his understanding* and forget everything they have learned about the *inexact sciences*.

The study of Passional Attraction is the most important illustration of this precept, but as the French are not the kind of people to take it to heart, it is not possible for them to familiarise themselves with the New Science, which runs counter to all their preconceived ideas, and requires that they be abandoned. Besides, neither

they nor anybody else can judge it on the basis of a prospectus limited to a few glimpses without the complete Theory and preparatory argument.

The Paris journals, while admitting that these arguments are well-constructed and logically developed, have responded in the usual French way with mockery; but mockery is not refutation. And I might, anyway, pay them back in their own coin, since they only allow mockery, by congratulating them on the wonderful benefits they have received from Civilisation in the period since I showed them the way out of it, by having to pay for its prolongation with so much blood and money. I think the laugh is on them.

Anybody who reads this book in that French spirit, with that mania for superiority and for disparaging a living compatriot, will only be fooling himself. I shall demonstrate this by showing two opportunities for profit and honour that the discovery presents to France, limiting myself to two out of a hundred.

1. *Opportunity for profit.* This has to come first to fit in with the tone of our mercantile century.

France is burdened by an enormous debt which, by 1820, will have reached four billion, as the legislative body has admitted. Would it not be useful if France could transfer this debt to the global account?

But England also has a debt, of 18 billion; let us say 20 billion at the first default, and an annual premium of 1 billion. We know how much the people are crushed by this affliction. What appalling images of beggary arise from that country's statistics, now burdened with an *additional* communal tax of 200 million for poor relief! England would thus have more to gain than France from seizing the means of liberating itself from it, without it costing them a penny; for now the trial organisation of Harmony is established on the basis of new procedures which exempt the sovereign from any risk or expense. At this rate, how could England hesitate to start a trial the success of which would free her of her colossal debt, and ensure her a host of material savings which will be mathematically demonstrated?

But if England takes the initiative in this trial, as the weight of her debts inevitably requires that she should, this will be a major embarrassment for France, who could have seized this advantage, this escape from debt, for herself, merely by treating

its inventor with the respect due to a man who is not asking for premature trust, only for the examination and trial of his Theory *at no expense* by any sovereign with 500,000 subjects, like the ruler of Darmstadt?

The sceptics will reply that they do not know how the author will put it into practice. But how can you know this on the basis of a prospectus written in 1807 when the principal development of the Theory took place between 1814 and 1817? These regularise and complete the Science and the way it will be taught. Nothing else is needed to make it a success except to devote all the necessary time to putting together the Treatise, and to support it with a list of the interest that each sovereign, each nation, each rich man has in putting the initiation of harmony to a simple test.

2. *Opportunity for honour.* The French have been accused of being undeveloped where genius is concerned, of being incapable of invention, only of improvement. If they wanted to absolve their country of this criticism, they would be flattered that one of their countrymen has thrown down the gauntlet to the whole world of learning with the claim that Newton and Kepler, who believed that they had discovered the laws of Movement, only revealed the fifth branch, and that a Frenchman was about to unveil the other four. After this announcement they should give my Theory provisional protection, conditional upon my providing a complete Treatise, fully compatible with experience, and applicable to the definitive sciences and to positive knowledge.

But the French think quite otherwise. All they see is the trivial pleasure of making fun of a fellow-countryman, attacking him in the name of rhetoric, when what they ought to be doing is forming a judgement of his inventiveness and waiting for the explanatory Exposition.

This will not be an easy task to fulfil. The first part of the body of doctrine has just taken me sixteen months, during which time I have only roughed out a third of the book. Admittedly this was the thorniest part and the one with the largest quantity of problems: the rest is less difficult, and will take me two years to complete, which I can do by a fixed date in 1820, or 1821 including a year for revisions and corrections.

If I then publish an adequate Treatise in which the discovery of the integral laws of Movement is fully set out, French scholars will

be profoundly embarrassed to realise that they have practically deified the discoverer of the fifth branch, the partial discoverer Newton, who is indeed worthy of the highest honour, whereas their compatriot, the discoverer of the integral laws comprising all five branches of Movement, has received nothing from them but mockery, discouragement and annoyance, to such an extent that he has withdrawn to another country to publish it. I shall move abroad in 1819.

France will then try, as usual, to claim the honour for this discovery, just as it claims the discovery of vaccination, the steamship and everything else, down to Rumford soup.² There seems to be nothing they do not lay claim to. Detraction and plagiarism go together; they want to ridicule inventors and then claim credit for the inventions. I shall give them the lie; I shall show that they have done nothing but work to discourage me, and that if I had given in to their sarcasm and insinuation, I would have given up my research and the world would have been deprived of the integral Theory of Movement.

Those who have stood out against the general response, preferring to wait for the Treatise before condemning the inventor, will understand how foolish it is to judge an invention before it has been published, and to judge it on the basis of an incomplete prospectus, published when the Theory was only halfway to the state it is in today.

And what kind of critical judgements have they made? They could not say anything about the way the Theory was to be put into practice as I have not communicated this, so they have attacked the style and the method. As if the style mattered in reporting discoveries! Surely if a man is announcing a new and immensely useful discovery, like the nautical compass, it does not matter if he writes in dialect, as long as he delivers the desired benefit of an effective means of orientation in darkness and in mines?

It is a failing of our century, especially in France, to require

² Benjamin Thompson, Count Rumford (1735–1814), British–American scientist, philanthropist and administrator. When he was in the service of the Elector of Bavaria he ‘improved the conditions of the industrial classes . . . by providing them with work and instructing them in the practice of domestic economy’. He also resettled beggars in institutions where they were fed and provided with work. (See *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th edition.)

oratorical talents for everything, when there is only a limited number of purposes for which they are useful. There is only one thing to be demanded of me: a complete Theory of the art of developing and integrating all the passions into a Phalanx of 144 Passional Series, modulated through the 810 characters of the universal keyboard. This is the only problem I have set myself, and it is the only one I have to solve. Even if I published it in dialect, my responsibility would be discharged. Will philosophy have any comparable merit? Has it solved a single one of these problems, from collective ones like Social Happiness and the Unity of Nations to partial ones like the eradication of poverty, fraud, etc.? It has failed in all of them, for all its paraphernalia of style and method and the rest. Other weapons are therefore required to force Nature to reveal her secret.

This will be fully revealed in the Treatise on Integral Movement, or the five divisions, to wit: the Passional, or Model, which is the Pivot of the four Cardinal Movements, the Instinctual, the Aromal, the Organic and the Material or Newtonian. Until the appearance of the Treatise which will present them within a unitary framework, if you want to gain any benefit from reading this announcement you must remember:

1. That any weaknesses of style or method are insignificant in the case of an inventor, because the only thing that can be asked of him is a useful discovery. There is a surfeit of useless sophistication in our society: wit and rhetoric are to be found everywhere. Anybody who is providing something scientifically useful like the Theory of Social and Passional Unity should dispense with frippery of that sort;

2. That the inventor in this case is all the more exempt from oratory, since he is used to commerce and is a stranger to arts and letters. It is all the more commendable of him to have braved criticism and humiliation by using his own methods to reveal the invention with which destiny has favoured him;

3. That since the most exact science, mathematics, has only been developed by degrees, one can hardly demand that one book should initiate and explain a new science. Readers must be content with what is obviously the seed of a discovery, a seed which is more than amply described in this prospectus, where there are plenty of

indications of a secret extracted from nature, which our philosophic sciences, which suppress nature, have failed to see;

4. That ten years have passed since this prospectus was written, in which period the Theory has been developed so much, especially in 1814, that the author can promise, without boasting, to provide a very satisfactory body of doctrine in less than three years;

5. Finally that, far from seeking the approbation of the French, the author intends neither to deal with them nor to publish in France. It would be a serious mistake to think he was trying to proselytise on the basis of this incomplete outline, now withdrawn from circulation, which he only published reluctantly, in order not to seem disobliging.

These are the factors that should be considered by detractors and sceptics. Impartial judges need only be reminded of the distrust to which the French mind too easily gives way in its scorn for compatriots. If I had signed myself *Fourington* instead of *Fourier*, all Frenchmen would have hailed me as a sublime genius who would transcend Newton by removing the whole veil, when that great man only understood how to raise a corner of it. Let us pass over this national failing and reassure well-intentioned readers by giving them a token of success drawn from the ease with which the Theory can be put into practice.

There are 3,000 candidates for fortune or power, each of whom can institute a trial of the Phalanx of Harmony, and thereby become hereditary monarch of the globe. This is a title which bears no relation to that of the partial Sovereigns governing each Empire, as the sceptre will be conferred by the Spheric hierarchy upon the individual who manifestly will have achieved the deliverance of the globe and its attainment of its social destiny by establishing the first experimental canton of Harmony.

Each of these 3,000 candidates can claim this eminent position by establishing a canton, which will be very financially lucrative, at a cost of one-quarter of the sum they spend so prodigally and uselessly every day in dubious speculation, vanity or even in necessary expenditure which Harmony will render superfluous, such as almsgiving.

For example, in England, a single branch of charity – the public assistance given to the poor – annually absorbs eight million

pounds, or 200 million French francs. The cost of the poor is one of the many burdens we could be free of if we allocated as little as half a million French francs to form the nucleus of a subscription for the establishment of a trial canton of Harmony.

Let us move on and look at some individual examples of prodigality and waste.

In Vienna in 1817 Marialva spent 1 million florins (2,400,000 francs) on a wedding: if he advanced a quarter of that on a guarantee of land on which to establish Harmony, he would become hereditary monarch of the globe. And remember that *advancing* money is not the same as spending it, and that the founder and shareholders of a canton of Harmony are as well covered as if they were lending against securities.

They say that Burdett distributed more than half a million francs when he was trying to get the not very important position of deputy: he could have obtained the hereditary throne of the world by advancing the same sum on guarantee as he lost by his expenditure on the temporary rank of deputy.

Labanoff is having a palace built in St Petersburg that will cost 16 million francs. He could be the hereditary monarch of the globe by advancing one thirty-second of the sum he will have spent on a building that will ruin his family, because it will require such a huge retinue of servants that it will be ruinous, if not for the present prince, then for his successor.

Similarly crazy enterprises, entailing the loss of millions, can be found in the commercial milieu of the middle classes. Cabarrus de Bayonne lost 1,300,000 francs when he underwrote the bankrupt Tassin. If he is prepared to risk over a million for a return of 2 or 3 per cent, he can well afford a guaranteed venture of half a million on Harmony, which would bring him the throne of the world, and provide a return on capital of 144 to 1 for him and all his shareholders.

Some advice to all those who desire both position and profit. Think how much intrigue is needed to reach the precarious rank of minister! The throne of the world is open to anybody with ambition who wants to obtain it, and the undertaking involves no risk at all.

There is a further detail which should be very attractive to co-operators. There will be about 115 to 120 empires the size of France

to be distributed, as well as crown kingdoms of varying status, all of which will take the place of small states that have not formed alliances, like those in the interior of Africa, which will be given emperors, and the uncultivated areas which make up three-quarters of the globe, and which the Hierarchy will prepare for colonisation only when that can take place as a result of Attraction. The present method of establishing colonies by wretched émigrés driven overseas by famine will no longer be practicable in a state of universal happiness. Colonisation will therefore have to happen as a result of Attraction, or attractive emigration, which can only be put into operation by the Spheric Hierarchy, and not by local sovereigns. The fact that the colonisation and full occupation of the globe will have to be organised by the Spheric Hierarchy will guarantee that there will be about 120 imperial thrones available for distribution to anybody who has served the cause of the human race by initiating or aiding the trial of Harmony in a canton of a thousand inhabitants.

It will be equally rewarding in terms of pecuniary profit. Colonisation, to start at the lowest end of the scale, will produce 4 thousand billion from the retrocession of colonised territories, which the colonist will pay in annuities. With such a large fortune at its disposal, it will cost hardly anything to cover England's debt, even at double the size, and, in cases where the sum assigned to the operation was put up by one individual aided by subscribers and co-sharholders, to repay it at a rate of 144 to 1.

When these assertions have been arithmetically and incontrovertibly proven, and when it becomes clear that the metamorphosis of the social world depends on nothing more difficult than a trial Phalanx of Harmony, there will be more than enough sovereigns, ministers and individuals vying to start one.

The Tsar Alexander gives 500,000 francs to the poor of Glaris: he only has to advance the same sum on mortgage to become omniarch of the globe. He allocates 60 million to build the church of St Saviour: he only has to divert 800,000 francs of this to have a nucleus of shares in the founding canton; then, as well as enjoying the omniarchate of the globe and having the honour of being the liberator of the human race, he will also benefit by having the globe pay double the cost of the church, 120 million, as a return on his guaranteed advance of 800,000 francs. And there are many other splendid motives I could emphasise, but I shall restrict myself to

those related to profit, as they are the only ones which carry any weight in Civilisation.

There is one danger for weaker souls, a trap about which they must be forewarned. This is a mistaken sense of shame, fear of public opinion and harsh criticism, which will continue till the last moment to mock and attack the founder, claiming he is deluded, and that it is madness to give credence to a Theory that contradicts 400,000 volumes of philosophical perfectibility, which have given rise to nothing but poverty and fraud.

Hence the need for a proper system of proof, the need to devote all available time to it, not to do anything hastily and not to publish it among the harsh critics of Paris, where columnists only pronounce favourably on authors who have left a pile of gold coins on their mantelpiece.

Other nations, of course, have their share of human weakness, particularly vanity, but I have found a means of protection against them in an attitude which will guarantee the founder against the shafts of criticism.

This is the line he should adopt:

He should pretend to regard everything pertaining to the *Passional Harmony of Series* (not explained in this volume) as suspect fiction, and list none but purely material advantages, buttressed by unanswerable arithmetical proofs. These fall into three branches: (1) combined agriculture; (2) combined household; and (3) combined dwellings. These associations, impracticable for ten or twenty families, are entirely practicable for 200 families of varied fortune, who can be regarded as a small town.

The candidate who intends to set up the founding canton should thus adopt a fashionable disguise – the philosophy of perfectibility – and say:

‘I do not believe in all the aspects of the Theory, like the *passional* unity of the 144 Series, and the glamorous concert of 810 characters arranged in octaves like an organ keyboard: that is all a flight of fancy on the part of an inventor whose real successes have gone to his head. But I shall remove from his calculations the part I suspect of being illusory, and adopt only the material arrangements, which have been mathematically shown to produce a thirty-fold profit, and the ability to live as comfortably for 1,000 francs in this system of Combined Production as one could for 30,000 francs in Civilisation; the New Industrial Order will also produce

a host of moral improvements, such as the eradication of poverty, fraud and theft among the co-operators, prodigious savings of time, labour, machinery and produce, and a considerable reduction in the number of maladies inherent in the domestic and industrial arrangements of people in Civilisation.'

The founder can thereby masquerade as a moral economist, in order to avoid taking his stand under the banner of an anti-philosophical inventor who has had the nerve to snatch the greatest palm from the scholars and make a magnificent discovery in the heart of what ought to be their province, while the virtuosi of Paris cudgel their brains in a vain attempt to discover something new.

According to this hypothesis, the Founder would play the role of a severe critic of my Theory, sifting the good ore from the bad. By giving some ground to the sceptics, he would bring it into line with received opinion, presenting himself as the perfecter of perfectible Civilisation, the man responsible for introducing a new economic and moral philosophy; after all, it is well known that there has to be a new one for each generation, just as there has to be a new almanac each year.

By means of this apparent break with my doctrine of Passions, the Founder will at once receive more acclaim for my discovery than I shall myself, and my work will look like Aeneas' dunghill, out of which a philosophical Virgil has been able to extract some pearls.

And there is another triumph in store for him. If he really wants to flatter the Parisian Minotaur, the ideologues' monopoly of the perfectibility of reason, and the economists' monopoly of the perfectibility of commerce, he must declare in his founding manifesto, that he has taken his plan, not from my Theory, which only considers things superficially, but from the torrents of enlightenment provided by the economists, and the deep profundities of the ideologues; and to fill the Parisian readers with even more pleasant expectations, he can assure them that the purpose of the foundation will be to add new lustre to the philosophy of commerce, and prove that sensations are created from ideas by the perceptions of intuition of the cognition of the volition of the good of commerce and the chartered company.

With a few lines of this fashionable jargon he will be able to charm all academic hearts, and he will be proclaimed a pillar of metaphysical soundness, an oracle of the great truths of economic

and moral commerce, and the true perfector of the perfectibilising-ness of perfectible Civilisation.

Meanwhile the good disciple will make his arrangements for setting up the trial of both the material and the passional, at the same time, with the opportunity for success on both fronts. There will be no shortage of candidates to gamble on this mask of partial mistrust in their attempt to win the universal sceptre, including princes who secretly bewail the loss of their thrones! What an opportunity for revenge, as those who dethroned them will become their subordinates!

It is no exaggeration to say that this approach, and others I have not described, will attract a thirtieth of the candidates, 100 out of 3,000. But it will not take 100; one individual will be enough. To understand the method by which I shall determine which one this will be, you will have to wait until I have prepared an adequate Treatise. It is, I repeat, essential not to anticipate success on the basis of an incomplete prospectus, written before the discoveries of 1814.

You must therefore consider this embryonic work in the same light as the crude statues of the Egyptians: none of our students would wish to have made them. Yet they are nevertheless valuable as the seeds of art, and as an indication of the progress it will need to make.

By the same token, instead of finding fault with the weak elements of this book, it would be more prudent to recognise how surprising it is that after only eight years I have been able to unite so many parts of the calculation of Harmony, on the basis of two years' uninterrupted work and a few moments of my spare time. It is indeed astounding that my contemporaries have not seen indications in this prelude of a great discovery that ought to be pursued, an absolutely new Passional Science, the publication of which ought to have been encouraged by every impartial judge.

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